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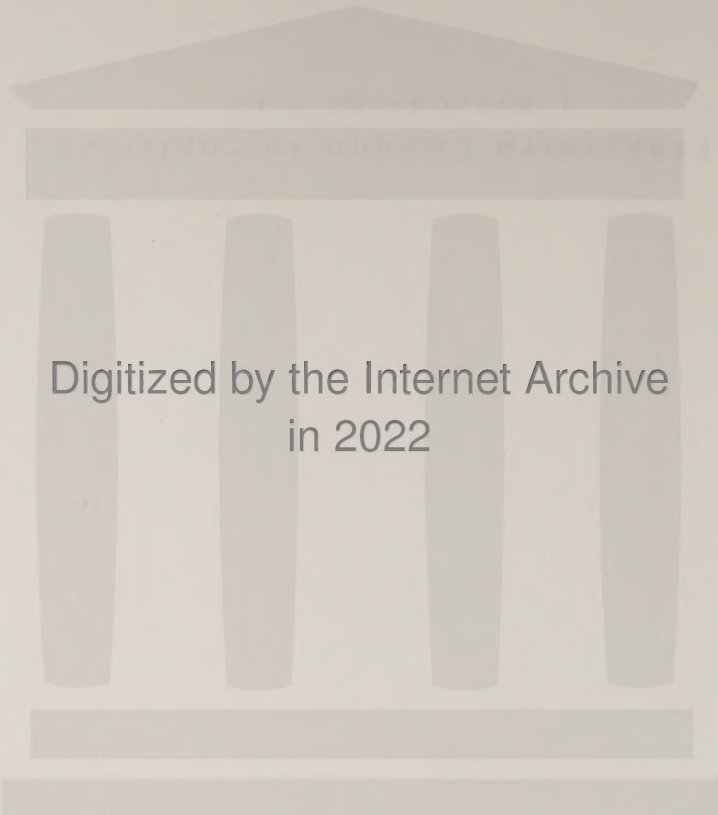
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A HISTORY OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN LOUISIANA



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Dr. George Summey

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A HISTORY
of the
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN LOUISIANA.

by
PENROSE ST. AMANT
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SYNOD OF LOUISIANA

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In Grateful Memory of
George Summey, D.D., LL.D.
(1853-1954)
Christian Statesman

Foreword

THE writing of this history of Presbyterians in Louisiana has itself something of a history. Conceived by Dr. George Summey, the grand old man of Presbyterians in Louisiana, it was authorized by the Board of Trustees for Presbyterian Publications, and for several years before his death, Dr. Summey was engaged in research in preparation for the compiling of this volume.

However, Dr. Summey began his work too late, and as he approached his one hundredth birthday, it became obvious that he would not be able to finish the work which he had begun. Shortly before his death the Board began a search for another man who could carry forward the task which Dr. Summey had begun. We found that man in Dr. Penrose St. Amant, who was then Professor of Church History at the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary. A trained historian, a capable writer, a man of great knowledge and broad sympathies, he was ideally suited to record the history of the Presbyterians of Louisiana.

This volume is the result of his labors. To Professor St. Amant, now Dean of the School of Theology at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, the Board acknowledges its debt of gratitude, and we trust that not only Presbyterians but all those who are interested in the progress of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ will find in its pages much that is thought provoking and inspiring.

The purpose of such a history, as we see it, is not simply or chiefly to glory in that which has been done by our fathers, but through a knowledge of their accomplishments and a recognition of the grace of God as He worked through them, to encourage us and those who come after us to strive with equal zeal to carry on the work which they have committed to our hands. To this high end we send this volume forth.

WALTER D. LANGTRY, *Secretary,*
Board of Trustees for Presbyterian
Publications, Synod of Louisiana

Acknowledgements

THIS history of the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana is intended primarily for the general reader. It is my hope also that specialists will find this study of some use in furthering understanding of regional and denominational church history in the South.

The book is the result of an invitation extended to me in 1954 by the Board of Trustees for Presbyterian Publications for the Synod of Louisiana to undertake a study of the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana, a project on which Dr. George Summey was working at the time of his death. Though Dr. Summey had not actually begun writing, he had engaged in extensive correspondence concerning the proposed treatise and had collected pertinent materials, which I have used with appreciation. Dedication of this book to this remarkable man is an effort to symbolize the esteem in which he is held by hosts of people, Presbyterians and others, whom he beneficently influenced in his useful life of more than one hundred years.

I am deeply indebted to the members of the Board of Trustees for Presbyterian Publications of the Synod of Louisiana for their unfailing courtesy and patience during the period in which the book was written. The Reverend William C. Dinwiddie, secretary-treasurer of that body until he left Louisiana in 1959, helped me secure historical materials by writing innumerable letters and cards to pastors of Presbyterian churches in the state. My gratitude to him is gladly recorded here and also to his successor, the Rev.

Walter D. Langtry, and to the two presidents of the Board of Trustees who served during the pursuit of this project, the Reverend Knox Poole and the Reverend Parks Wilson, all of whom extended every assistance.

The Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches at Montreat, North Carolina, provided most of the primary historical sources used in this work. Much time was spent in research during several summers amid these treasures of the past. Let me record here my deep appreciation to Dr. Thomas H. Spence and his staff at Montreat for their invaluable, tireless, and expert guidance. I also worked in the Witherspoon Library in the Presbyterian Building in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the Presbyterian Missionary Library in New York City, and the library of Union Theological Seminary (New York). Some sources were gleaned from the library of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, the New Orleans Public Library, and the library of the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana.

During the twenty-one years I spent in New Orleans, Louisiana, as a student and member of the faculty of the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, my growing friendship with members of the Presbyterian community, particularly the clergy, was a constant source of satisfaction to me. Writing this history has given me a deepened appreciation of the sturdy Presbyterian tradition with its concern for theological and cultural issues. My Presbyterian friends have called me half-Presbyterian and half-Baptist! Strictly speaking, that is not correct. I am a convinced Baptist but my Baptist faith has been enlarged and deepened by this unique contact with the Presbyterians.

Grateful appreciation must be made to many who have helped in this study in ways both known and unknown—to teachers of the past, particularly Dr. Elmer Francis Haight,

now of Louisiana College, Pineville, Louisiana, the late Dean Charles Edward Smith of Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the late Principal John Baillie of New College, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, who contributed greatly to my understanding and appreciation of history; to my secretaries, Miss Hilda Strebeck, Miss Mana Duckworth, Miss Ann Garner, Mrs. Jackie Ostrom, and Mrs. Frances Eakin, who deciphered my handwriting, typed innumerable letters, and handled manifold details; to my wife, Jessie, who cheerfully created conditions conducive to research and writing in those periods of preoccupation with this study; and to Mr. R. McLean Whittet of Whittet and Shepperson, Richmond, Virginia, for his discerning suggestions and deep interest.

PENROSE ST. AMANT

"Tree Tops"

Wildwood on the Jordan
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

August 27, 1960

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A HISTORY OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN LOUISIANA

Presbyterian Beginnings in South Louisiana

SYLVESTER LARNED

THE contrast between the cloistered life at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he had been studying,¹ and the rough frontier through which he passed must have been sharp indeed for twenty-two year old Sylvester Larned as he made his way from his home in Pittsfield, Massachusetts to New Orleans, Louisiana in the winter of 1817-1818 on a journey that required almost four months. Misgivings about this venture, which he described as "hazardous and difficult,"² must have mingled often with the deep resolution which sent the young missionary to such a distant place. The letters he wrote on this trying trip reflect the changing moods of a young man challenged by a hard task and yet wondering what really lay ahead. But his sense of dedication was deeper than his feelings. Apparently he was ready to invest his life in some phase of home missions when he encountered the Rev. Elias Cornelius, a Congregationalist, representing the Connecticut Missionary Society, who stopped at Princeton³ on his way into the South, and especially to New Orleans, as a commissioner for the American Board of Missions.⁴ Cornelius encouraged Larned to cast his lot for Christ in New Orleans, a rapidly growing city with a population of thirty-four thousand.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church shared in "the great object,"⁵ as Larned described it. Two others were appointed for this duty and Larned was scheduled to go if either or both failed to do so. Neither went to New Orleans and so he was sent alone. The General Assembly appointed Larned to solicit donations "in New Orleans and vicinity"⁶ for Princeton Theological Seminary, which had opened in 1812. Cornelius apparently seized this initial impulse which sent Larned to New Orleans on a temporary mission and gave it a permanent character. It was probably the matter of a possible settlement in New Orleans which Cornelius and Larned discussed in their meeting at Princeton.

Leaving Princeton, Larned stopped in New York, where he was ordained by the Presbytery there on July 15, 1817, and then made his way home for a visit of two and one-half months before setting out on the arduous journey to New Orleans. In a letter to a friend, he described a part of his last night at home: "It is now two o'clock in the morning, and all the family but myself is asleep. I cannot sleep; my portmantow [large suitcase] and valise lie by me packed for tomorrow's stage." He spoke of the "strange feelings" which swept over him as he thought of what he was leaving and what the future would bring. "Little do they know me," he concluded, "who think I do not wish to stop at Princeton."⁷

While waiting for "a favorable wind" for his boat at Buffalo, New York, to which he had come by stage, he visited Niagara Falls and points of historical interest nearby. Reaching Detroit, Michigan, he set out on horseback through the state of Ohio toward Louisville, Kentucky. A compass was required to give direction through the Black Swamp of Ohio, where two days were expended in traveling thirty-six miles! At Lexington, Kentucky, he preached in the

Presbyterian Church. A young minister vacationing nearby named Theodore Clapp, who had been a fellow student of Larned at Williams College and who later succeeded him as minister of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, happened to be in the audience on that occasion and was deeply impressed by what he heard.⁸ Here Larned was joined by the Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain,⁹ a former classmate at Princeton, with whom he traveled through Frankfort, where Larned preached, and the "little village" of Shelbyville to Louisville. There they boarded the *Newport*, a steamboat, which slowly made its way down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, tying up at night. In one of several letters written enroute, Larned spoke of the lapse of three weeks since the boat had left Louisville and indicated that probably another week would be required to reach Natchez, Mississippi.¹⁰ The *Newport* reached New Orleans on January 22, 1818, ending a voyage of thirty-five days from Louisville.¹¹ Cornelius had come to the city "a little more than three weeks"¹² earlier and immediately began to prepare the way for Larned's labors.¹³

Cornelius and Larned were not the first Protestant missionaries to visit the Crescent City. They were preceded by Samuel J. Mills and John F. Schermerhorn, who in 1813 engaged in a missionary tour through the South, staying in New Orleans "about three weeks."¹⁴ The missionaries preached as often as they had opportunity. On the last Sunday of his visit, Schermerhorn spoke to a congregation of two hundred. It was said by those who had lived in the city for a considerable time that it was the largest meeting of its kind they had witnessed.¹⁵ The preacher was implored to remain in New Orleans "and settle in the ministry there." Schermerhorn declined with regret and said, "I believe . . .

it is an ample field for usefulness and the most important situation in the Western Country."¹⁶

In 1815, Daniel Smith, a missionary in Natchez, Mississippi, who in 1817 founded the first Presbyterian Church there, visited New Orleans and found a little group, without a minister, sustaining a prayer meeting.¹⁷ Cornelius failed to mention this meeting in describing his visit to New Orleans and it is, therefore, possible that it had disbanded or, what is more likely, that it had been absorbed by "a regular weekly prayer meeting . . . of different denominations,"¹⁸ which was probably functioning when he arrived.

Cornelius was deeply concerned when he learned that the city was "peculiarly destitute of Protestant preaching of any kind" except for the sermons of the Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. James T. Hull, who "had not preached any during the warm season and had been able to deliver but few discourses since the cool weather returned." He discovered that "two Baptists," probably William B. Johnson and James Ranaldson, had been in New Orleans the preceding winter and considered their return doubtful. He must have been told that Elisha Bowman had sought without success to organize a Methodist church in 1805.¹⁹

He knew New Orleans was often "a sickly place" because of the frequent epidemics of yellow fever in the summer but he insisted that this should by no means deter Christian missionaries when it did not hinder those who came to the city for material gain. Should "the servants of God," he asked, "be less persevering than the servants of the world, the flesh, and the devil?" Should the clergy be more cautious than the men of commerce who came to do business in this city of "crowded streets," destined "one day to rank with the largest . . . on the globe?"²⁰ The opportunity offered the

Protestant witness, he believed, was far beyond the estimate of those who had not actually visited the city. Indeed, this was a massive challenge! No wonder he welcomed Larned on January 22 with "unspeakable satisfaction."

Larned found one Protestant church in the city, which had been organized in the Cabildo on November 17, 1805. "Christ's Church" was the culmination of many meetings of those who desired a place for public Protestant worship. The organizers, meeting at the boarding house of Madame Fourage at 227 Bourbon Street in June, 1805, voted on the matter of the denominational affiliation of the anticipated church. Forty-five votes were cast for an Episcopal, seven for a Presbyterian, and one for a Methodist church. It is unlikely that this vote gives a precise indication of the relative strength of the three denominations, though Episcopalians undoubtedly predominated. After some hesitation by those who wished the church to be designated merely the New Orleans Protestant Church, agreement was reached by the group that it should be an Episcopal church and that the Rev. Philander Chase, a former Presbyterian minister, should be inducted according to the forms of that church.²¹

It is not surprising that this church, of which the Rev. James T. Hull was rector in 1818, and the new group led by Larned came quickly into a harmonious relationship, though each church retained its denominational identity. The Presbyterians and those sympathetic with their purpose met for several months on Sunday evenings in Christ Church, as it was called from an early date, at the southwest corner of Canal and Bourbon Streets, completed in 1816. But this was only temporary. Larned's "eloquence soon attracted attention" and, in spite of the fact that a few believed that "New Orleans could not support two Protestant places of

worship,"²² a public meeting was held on February 9, 1818 "at W[illiam] C[ornelius] Paulding's room. . . to take into consideration the establishing of a Presbyterian church in this city." Dr. George Hunter was elected president and Alfred Hennen secretary of the enterprise. "Perhaps eighty persons," some of them "wealthy,"²³ called together through "advertisements in the public papers" passed two resolutions: "that [it] is proper to establish a Presbyterian Church in this city [and] that the Rev. Sylvester Larned be invited to settle among us as our pastor."²⁴ On February 16, a committee was appointed "to enquire into the proper place and plan for building a church." The committee, which was to confer with Larned about these matters, was made up of the following: J. W. Smith, Henderson, Ellery, Hennen, Williams, Hunter, Davidson, McNair, Preston, Fort, Walton, Ross, and McLaughlin.²⁵ On February 23, Larned was offered a salary of \$4,000 per year and plans were projected to raise money through subscriptions and loans without interest²⁶ for the purchase of a lot and the construction of a church building.²⁷ A committee was authorized to purchase "from the musical warehouse in Boston a suitable organ" costing not more than \$3,500. A plan was devised for raising revenue through the rent of pews to cost \$30 per year "in the center of the church" and \$25 "in the back."²⁸

Describing his activities during these days, Larned said he preached on Sunday mornings in "a commodious room fitted up by Mr. Paulding" to an "uncomfortably crowded" congregation of more than four hundred persons and in the evenings at the Episcopal Church, holding more than one thousand people. Worshippers were frequently "compelled to leave the house" because of a lack of accommodations! He also lectured on Thursday evenings in Paulding's room

and led prayer meetings there on Wednesday and Friday mornings for men and women respectively. In all of these services he reported great "decorum of conduct" and "solemnity of attention."²⁹ Besides all of this, he and Cornelius organized a missionary society for New Orleans and planned to secure a minister to labor in the hospital and prison and among the Negroes and seamen.³⁰ Alluding to a possible call from the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, Maryland, he remarked to Cornelius, "You may rest assured were I offered the Bishopric of Creation I would not at this time leave New Orleans."³¹

By April 5, 1818, \$16,000 had been subscribed for the church building. Larned supposed that \$30,000, "exclusive of the lot and the steeple," would be required "to complete a brick church of the general dimensions of ninety feet by sixty"³² in "the plain Gothic style of architecture."³³ Larned worked tirelessly, traveling North in the summer and fall to solicit funds and purchase materials for the edifice. The Trustees of the church gave him permission to be away from May 1 "until any period in the month of November"³⁴ and authority to purchase what was needed up to \$20,000. Some criticism of his lengthy absence must have been circulated because the following note defending the minister was recorded in the *Minutes* of the congregation: "We believe Mr. Larned used every reasonable exertion to reach New Orleans before the first of December and that, for his delay, the uncommon lowness of the Ohio and Mississippi was a good and sufficient reason."³⁵ Actually, the water was low, slowing river traffic. Larned and thirty others finally chartered a boat in Louisville, Kentucky, for the trip to New Orleans.³⁶

The cornerstone of the new church was laid by the Grand Master of the Masonic Lodge in the presence of seven thou-

sand people on January 8, 1819. The edifice, on St. Charles Street between Gravier and Union Streets on two lots worth \$6,000, which were donated by the City Council, was dedicated July 4, with a sermon by Larned suggested by Psalm 48:9: "We have thought of thy loving kindness, oh God, in the midst of thy temple," which is preserved among the sermons included in R. R. Gurley's work on Larned.³⁷

The New Orleans Chronicle described the event as "a splendid scene" and "peculiarly impressive." Beneath the cornerstone was deposited a silver plate bearing the motto "Jesus Christ, the True God and Eternal Life" and giving the date of the founding with the names of the pastor and trustees of the church.³⁸ The basement of the building was of granite, supporting the brick sanctuary. An unidentified New Orleanian of the period called it "the most beautiful edifice in the city. . . ."³⁹ William Brand was the architect.

Statistics of the church are very meagre. In January, 1820, Larned wrote, "The congregation increases; in spiritual things, we make a visible, though tardy, progress."⁴⁰ In July of the same year, he reported that forty-two people, including some Methodists, attended a communion service.⁴¹ The financial position of the church was not solvent. As early as January, 1819, a loan was required by the church to pay the pastor's salary.⁴² Obligations were not being met on time and Larned's salary was again in arrears one year later.⁴³ The resources and enthusiasm of the people failed to match their rather ambitious plans and by 1821 the church owed \$45,000.

Larned thus gathered a congregation, built a house of worship, and solidified the Presbyterian witness in New Orleans. But this was not, strictly speaking, a Presbyterian church, though it was the nucleus of the First Presbyterian

Church in the city, organized in 1823. Larned labored "exclusively as an evangelist" and did not organize a church "by the election and ordination of ruling elders; and he himself was never installed into the pastoral relation by ecclesiastical authority."⁴⁴ Nevertheless he was the first Presbyterian minister to settle in New Orleans.

In the summer of 1819, he attended the meeting of the Presbytery of Mississippi, of which he was a member. During his absence, a yellow fever epidemic spread through the city and he was advised not to return until the danger had passed. "Fourteen letters reached me," he wrote later, "all forbidding my return from the air of the country. . . ."⁴⁵ Reluctantly he consented to remain at St. Francisville, Louisiana, until the epidemic had passed. A year later, the epidemic recurred and Larned, recoiling from the suspicion that he had deliberately fled from the fever previously,⁴⁶ stayed at his post, refusing to "repair to the hills on the other side of Lake Pontchartrain, where the yellow fever had never been known." He said, "I . . . resolved that I would never leave New Orleans again in a sickly season. I must adhere to this resolution. Duty is ours, events are God's. . . ."⁴⁷ He not only refused to accept refuge outside of the city but for two months expended his energies unstintedly to help the stricken. He ministered to the sick and dying and visited the hospital every day.⁴⁸ Not yet acclimated⁴⁹ and weakened by his extreme exertions, Larned was vulnerable to the disease and became ill in August. Already in the throes of the illness on Sunday, August 27, 1820, he preached on the text, "For me to live is Christ and to die is gain." One of his parishioners who heard him said, "We never heard him speak before with equal impressiveness and solemnity. . . . He intimated that his work on earth might be drawing to a close."⁵⁰ Four days later in

the bloom of youth he died.⁵¹ His last words were, "Without a doubt, fear, or misgiving, I resign my spirit into the hands of God, who gave it."⁵² His remains were conveyed from "a little one-story building on Camp Street, nearly opposite the upper corner of Lafayette Square" to the Girod Street Cemetery,⁵³ where he was buried according to the rites of the Episcopal Church. The Rev. James T. Hull, the only Protestant clergyman in New Orleans, was the officiating minister. Apparently his remains were disinterred in 1841 and deposited under a monument erected to his memory in front of the church on Lafayette Square.⁵⁴

Thus the young missionary's "silver tongued voice"⁵⁵ was stilled and he went to an early grave with that audacious bravery which befits those who love honor more than life and Jesus Christ above all earthly prizes. What he might have achieved with his "eloquent and powerful imagination," his penetrating mind, and vigorous energy will never be known but let it be recorded here that Sylvester Larned, strangely stricken in his youth, stands among the missionary heroes of the Church in company with other young men like David Brainerd, Borden of Yale, and James Henry Haygood, who likewise lived more fully in a few years than most men do in many.

Theodore Clapp, who succeeded Larned in New Orleans, has left an interesting description of the manner in which Larned prepared and delivered his sermons. Spending "the whole week" in parish activities, he "drank strong tea" at dusk Saturday, went into his study, wrote his sermon, and read it once with care before retiring. About one hour before preaching the next morning, he read his manuscript for the second time, left it in his study, "walked into the pulpit and pronounced the discourse precisely as it was written, in an

easy flowing, unembarrassed manner of animated conversation."⁵⁶

Though there is no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of this description of Larned's preaching, what Clapp says about controversial matters must be taken with caution. Clapp's flamboyant literary style inspired an extravagance of expression. His use of sources was uncritical and thus allowed great latitude for the intrusion of personal opinions into his "historical" writing. For example, after purporting to quote Larned on one occasion, Clapp said, "I do not mean to intimate that the above were the precise words used by Mr. L[arned] but [they nevertheless preserve] the general strain and import of his peroration, as described to me by many who were present on the occasion."⁵⁷

This uncritical tendency is particularly evident in Clapp's effort to downgrade Larned's evangelical theology and loyalty to the Presbyterian Church. Clapp claimed that Larned entertained serious doubts about the theology he had learned at Andover and Princeton Seminaries, which according to Clapp could afford the "irreligious" no hope or consolation in death, and that a "great change," therefore, ensued in his preaching. "During the last year of Larned's life," Clapp continued, "he scarcely so much as alluded to the distinguishing doctrines of Presbyterianism in the pulpit."⁵⁸ "The deacons" told him, Clapp said, that they "and nearly all the communicants" had deserted the church "several weeks before the death of their late pastor" and "members" of the congregation remarked that Larned "died at a fortunate moment" for "the prosperity of the evangelical faith in New Orleans."⁵⁹ None of this is documented and none of it is supported by Larned's extant sermons.⁶⁰ Clapp, writing in 1857 as a convinced universalist, sought strenuously to make

Larned over in his own theological image.⁶¹ In this he failed because the stubborn stuff of history cannot be so easily manipulated. One thing is clear from the sources—Larned was faithful to the evangelical faith and the Presbyterian Church to the very end.

THEODORE CLAPP

THE twenty-nine year old Theodore Clapp, a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Yale College and Andover Theological Seminary, reached New Orleans in February 1822. A curious circumstance accounted for the coming of the young Congregational minister. In the summer of 1821, he was resting at a resort in Kentucky and was asked to preach to the guests, two of whom were from the church in New Orleans of which the deceased Larned had been pastor. They were impressed and, after returning to New Orleans, wrote Clapp inviting him to assume the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church in the Crescent City. The Plan of Union of 1801 made it possible for a Congregationalist to serve as pastor of a Presbyterian church. After hesitating, he agreed to come "to preach [for] a few weeks."⁶²

Clapp wrote in detail about his trip down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from Louisville, Kentucky, in the winter of 1821-22. "The waters were high," he said, "and the steamboat on which I embarked moved with great speed."⁶³ Only one small town was seen between the mouth of the Ohio River and Warrenton, Mississippi. There was not a single house where Vicksburg now stands. "An almost uninterrupted line of bluffs" appeared on the left, and on the right stretched "tangled . . . interminable forests" from "Walnut Hills," near the later Vicksburg, to Baton Rouge.

"An artificial mound of earth called 'the levee,' " which began a little below Natchez, obscured the "coast," a strip of fertile land bordering the river on both sides extending from about one hundred fifty miles above New Orleans to forty below the city. At Pointe Coupee, cultivated fields, orange groves, and trees covered with moss could be seen, as well as the mansion of the philanthropist, Stephen Poydras, who in 1817 endowed an orphanage in New Orleans and contributed much to many charities. Below this point lay rich land and prosperous people. "Plantation touched plantation," he wrote, "noble private residences, massive sugar houses, neat villas, and numerous Negro quarters succeed each other in such a way that the whole distance has the appearance of one uninterrupted village." The spires of Roman Catholic churches could be seen "every six or seven miles."⁶⁴

The young minister and his shipboard companions alighted from the boat "about three miles" above New Orleans, where it stopped to discharge cargo. The passengers had become impatient and decided to walk to the city through an abandoned plantation. Thus, for the first time Clapp entered the city where he was to spend thirty-five years.

He was soon waited upon by the trustees of the church, who struck him as such "fine looking gentlemen, with [such] polished manners, [so] well informed, so cheerful, easy, natural, and agreeable in their conversation" that he concluded they could not be members of the Presbyterian Church! They were so enthusiastic in their praise of Larned that Clapp feared he would be unable to fill his predecessor's place. As the newcomer prepared to preach the following Sunday, he was well aware that the congregation would compare him with Larned, who spoke without a manuscript

before him with extraordinary power. He knew that if he read his sermon, no matter how well prepared, the people would say, "We have heard a discourse erudite indeed, and able, but it was not like Larned's. . . ." ⁶⁵ Writing about the matter thirty-five years afterward, the author undoubtedly embellished the story. But it is evident, nevertheless, that he faced his first sermon with considerable apprehension, though it may be doubted that, after studying through the night Saturday, he "abandoned . . . the hopes of succeeding" and was ready to "steal away as silently as possible the next week in some vessel bound for Boston or New York, where the reading of sermons was tolerated in all pulpits." He confronted a "large" congregation which impressed him greatly "for the ladies and gentlemen in New Orleans dressed as finely to go to church as they did when they went to the opera, evening party, or ball room." When he began to speak without his accustomed manuscript he remembered what he had "learned by rote the night before" but was still not sure that the sermon had come off well. The congregation was impressed, and according to Clapp, it was an impressive congregation, made up of lawyers, doctors, "enlightened merchants," and members of the press. ⁶⁶

He quickly learned to preach without a manuscript, though his sermons were not completely committed to memory. Taking his cue from a lawyer in the city, he learned to write a concise statement of what he intended to say which he took with him into the pulpit. He found this method so acceptable that he followed it throughout his ministry in New Orleans. Commenting in general on sermon preparation, he stated that the minister "should rise at four o'clock a.m. in the summer and five a.m. in winter so as to secure four or five hours of uninterrupted study" before the demands

of his parish should occupy his time and energy. He capped his comment by saying he "faithfully pursued" this routine throughout his ministry!⁶⁷

Within three weeks after his arrival, Clapp was chosen by the congregation as pastor of the Presbyterian Church but declined to respond to the invitation until he had examined the financial position of the church. When he discovered the church owed \$45,000 and had no money in the treasury, he told the committee representing the congregation that he could not accept the offer unless the debt was liquidated. The trustees of the church responded by applying to the Louisiana Legislature for a lottery with which to raise money to pay the debt! The request was granted immediately and then sold to the agents of Yates and McIntyre of New York for \$25,000.⁶⁸ This method of raising revenue for religious and charitable objects, to which Christ Church in New Orleans had resorted earlier, was vigorously debated in the religious press of this period. For example, an article in the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* said that the legislature was "justified in granting lotteries for the attainment of objects important to the welfare of church or state" when "better means" were not feasible.⁶⁹ On the other hand much was said in religious magazines about "the pernicious effects of lotteries."⁷⁰ The easygoing atmosphere of New Orleans, where the rugged moral demands of the Puritan outlook were hardly felt, made lotteries very lucrative and, therefore, very tempting.

The remaining portion of the debt was absorbed by Judah Touro, a wealthy merchant and philanthropist, who thereby assumed ownership of the church. Through these curious circumstances, a Jew came into possession of a Presbyterian church with a Congregational minister in a predominately

Roman Catholic city! In subsequent years, Touro invested an additional \$7,000 in the church for repairs, allowing the pew rents to go to the minister, and permitted the edifice to be used by Clapp's congregation, long after it had abandoned Presbyterianism. The building was eventually destroyed by fire.⁷¹ Larned's unbounded optimism that the congregation would easily surmount all financial difficulties⁷² was not well founded, as these problems suggest.

Clapp accepted the church and was soon settled in a society "more agreeable" than he had imagined. He entered into the social life of the city with a zest surprising for a clergyman of this time. A stirring sermon which was suggested by "the music, sprightly conversation, [and] wit" of a party Clapp attended led one of his parishioners to tell him, "We had better make a party for you once every week."⁷³

The work of Larned until his death and Clapp's labors for almost two years were not as pastors of an officially organized Presbyterian church. According to Presbyterian standards, they functioned as "Evangelists." A Christian community had been formed, a building in which to worship constructed, the sacraments administered, and the Word of God preached but, as yet, there was not a church according to the demands of Presbyterian polity. The time had come for that. In the evening of November 23, 1823, at a meeting presided over by Clapp, nine men and fifteen women who presented credentials of admission to the Lord's Supper granted by Larned were formed into a church by adopting Presbyterian standards of doctrine, government, discipline, and worship. The charter members were as follows: Alfred Hennen, James Robinson, William Ross, Robert H. McNair, Moses Cox, Hugh Farrie, Richard Pearse, John Spittal,

John Rollins, Phebe Farrie, Catherine Hearsey, Celeste Hearsey, Doza Hearsey, Margaret Agur, Ann Ross, Eliza Hill, Margaret McNair, Sarah Ann Harper, Ann Davison, Stella Mercer, Jane Robinson, Eliza Baldwin, Mary Porter, and Eliza Davison.⁷⁴

A petition bearing the name, "The First Presbyterian Church in the city and parish of New Orleans," was presented to the Presbytery of Mississippi requesting admission to that body. Four members were elected elders: William Ross, Moses Cox, James Robinson, and Robert McNair, who were ordained the following Sunday, November 30, 1823. Clapp had become a member of the Mississippi Presbytery on October 30, 1823, and attended the spring meeting the following year.

Clapp's ministry was a stormy one from the beginning. Difficulties between the pastor and various parishioners kept the church in constant turmoil. In 1826, Alfred Hennen, president of the Louisiana Bible Society and Bethel Union, claimed that Clapp had "slandered" him by giving currency to a rumor that he refused to pay a just debt to a bookseller in Boston and that, moreover, the pastor was "in the habit of speaking contemptuously of his [Hennen's] family in general."⁷⁵ The matter was settled through prolonged discussions and Hennen accepted the verdict of the session, which cleared Clapp of charges of misconduct,⁷⁶ but the controversy which pitted the pastor of the church against a leading figure in the Protestant community of the city did irreparable harm to the infant Presbyterian congregation. And this was only the beginning, for doctrinal debates soon vied with personal feuds for the center of the stage.

In the spring of 1824, Clapp began to entertain doubts about the doctrine of the punishment of the unregenerate

after death.⁷⁷ In his autobiography, he described the unusual manner in which his skepticism on this point was initiated. A certain Judge Workman, who belonged to the Board of Administrators of the College of Orleans, went to hear Clapp preach since the minister was being considered for the presidency of the college. On the particular Sunday when the Judge was present Clapp happened to deal with what he called the "dogma of endless punishment," which he then accepted, he said, on the basis of "the authority of revelation." Judge Workman did not believe the doctrine and expressed his doubts to the preacher after the service, as result of which Clapp resolved to examine all Scripture passages bearing upon the belief in question. This he did and thus commenced a struggle which ended several years later in the conclusion that the Bible taught the salvation of all men or what is known as universalism.⁷⁸

The first indication in the minutes of the session that doubts were harbored concerning Clapp's orthodoxy appears on March 31, 1826. Dr. John Rollins, explaining why he had absented himself from public worship "for nearly two years," stated he had done so because the pastor "preached against some fundamental articles of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith. . . ." Rollins also complained that Clapp, who had become president of the College of Orleans,⁷⁹ had permitted "two Negro balls at the college." The Presbytery of Mississippi finally dismissed charges of heresy and misconduct against Clapp on January 31, 1827 and Rollins agreed to resume active membership in the church.⁸⁰

The session records are replete with charges and counter charges. Mrs. Jane Robertson said that "William Ross said that Clapp did not preach sound doctrine, and . . . that Mr. Clapp did not keep family worship. As a consequence of

these charges, Ross was "deposed from the office of ruling elder and excluded from communion."⁸² The deposed elder appealed to the Presbytery of Mississippi but the session ruling was confirmed.⁸³

A letter written in New Orleans at this time described the condition of the "very small" Presbyterian congregation as "truly disheartening—no harmony, no communion sessions."⁸⁴ This is probably a prejudiced view from a person who disliked Clapp but the fact remains that there was much turmoil in this church of forty members.⁸⁵ No wonder the session was reduced below a quorum. Five new elders were ordained in March, 1828: Alfred Hennen, J. A. Maybin, W. W. Caldwell, Josiah Crocker, and Fabricus Reynolds.

But acrimonious controversy continued. Rollins returned to the battle in June, 1828 by claiming that "Clapp's preaching was Arminian." For this and similar charges which Rollins widely aired he was suspended from the church on July 11, 1828.⁸⁶ He appealed this decision through the courts of the church and finally on June 4, 1830 the General Assembly restored him to "the privileges of the church,"⁸⁷ a ruling not recognized officially by Clapp's congregation until almost two years later.⁸⁸

It is clear that the convinced Presbyterians in the church were increasingly restive as a result of Clapp's theological views. The others cared little what the attractive Mr. Clapp preached. A division thus developed within the congregation.

Through this period of controversy, Clapp sought to retain the support of the Mississippi Presbytery. In 1826, a committee of the Presbytery visited New Orleans to investigate charges of heresy against him. The group examined a sermon on election which had laid "the foundation, in part, for the charges" against the minister. On December 16, 1826,

Clapp wrote a letter insisting that he accepted the doctrine of election and disavowed universalism.⁸⁹ Thus the matter was temporarily settled and, despite continuing rumors that "he preached against doctrines" of the Confession of Faith, he retained the confidence of the Presbytery. At Port Gibson, Mississippi, in April 1828, he said that "in orthodoxy he would not yield to any member of the Presbytery."⁹⁰ It is evident that Clapp was passing through a severe intellectual struggle and that he harbored serious misgivings about the truth of the Calvinistic theology. In order to continue his relationship with the Presbytery, he endeavored to maintain an official orthodoxy which he really did not hold. This finally became untenable and he wrote a letter to the moderator of the Presbytery of Mississippi on March 5, 1830, in which he said bluntly, "I have not yet found and at present despair of finding any tests of Holy Writ to prove unanswerably the distinguishing tenets of Calvinism." He, therefore, believed that "the peace and prosperity" of the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana and Mississippi required his withdrawal.⁹¹ In view of this, he asked to be dismissed from the Presbytery of Mississippi to the Hampshire County Association of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts. The Presbytery refused to accede to this request on the grounds that it could not recommend to another body one whom it no longer recognized as a member in good standing. Clapp was then deposed from the Presbytery and the ministry, and pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans was declared vacant.⁹²

The session of the church in New Orleans did not act until January 25, 1831, when the issue was finally faced as to Clapp's relationship to the congregation, which he continued to serve as stated supply. The confusion which prevailed

concerning Clapp's position is suggested by the session records for December 5, 1830, from which the designation "the pastor of the church" has been expunged only to be restored by some new hand.⁹³ A "portion of the church and a majority of the session" favored the decision of the Presbytery. During the debate of several months "a minority of [the] session"⁹⁴ appealed to the General Assembly, which ruled that "since the Rev. Theodore Clapp had neither been dismissed nor suspended by the Presbytery of Mississippi, he ought to be regarded as a member of the body [and] . . . that in the opinion of this Assembly they [sic] have sufficient reasons for proceeding to try him upon the charge of error in doctrine."⁹⁵ Thus the General Assembly decided that the proceedings of the Presbytery by which Clapp was declared "no longer a member of the Mississippi Presbytery, nor a minister of the Presbyterian Church" were without effect because Clapp "had not been dismissed or suspended" on the basis of a trial, and admonished the Presbytery to try him for doctrinal error. Plans to do so were made at the meeting of the Presbytery, October 14, 1831, though regret was expressed that the General Assembly had not seen fit to confirm the decision of the Presbytery.

At the same meeting, Clapp sought to withdraw his assertions admitting doctrinal deviation from Presbyterian standards by presenting two letters to the Presbytery.⁹⁶ He asserted that the letter of March 5, 1830, in which he had repudiated "the distinguishing tenets of Calvinism did not contain a fair representation" of his "present views" and affirmed his faith in Westminster orthodoxy. He concluded the second letter by stating his belief "at the present time [in the] doctrines of election, original sin, atonement, regeneration, and final perseverance of the saints. . . ." All of

this dreary debate suggests that Clapp had the facility to change his mind often about what he believed and that, by this time, the discrepancy between a statement such as he gave in the two letters mentioned above and what he actually believed was so glaring as to permit the Presbytery no alternative but to try him for doctrinal departure from Presbyterian standards.

Meanwhile the church in New Orleans was left in serious turmoil and on January 13, 1832, fifteen members including Elders McNair and Caldwell asked to be dismissed in order to form a church which would conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Presbyterian Church. This disruption left the original church with a membership of about seventy.⁹⁷ The splinter group secured a warehouse belonging to William Cornelius Paulding facing Lafayette Square as a place of worship. The history of this group is quite obscure. It was served by a "Mr. Harris." J. R. Hutchinson says, without documentation, that the Rev. Alexander Aikman of Bordentown, New Jersey "was sent to New Orleans in 1832 to take charge of the Presbyterian Church of that city, rendered vacant by the deposition from the ministry of Rev. Theodore Clapp" and that he began his labors under "most encouraging" circumstances. The statement is suspect because the situation in 1832, when Aikman supposedly came, was far from "most encouraging"⁹⁸ and Clapp was not actually deposed until 1833.

The trial of Clapp was a prolonged and tedious affair. The Presbytery of Mississippi met in New Orleans from May 3 to 17, 1832. There were two charges: first, that Clapp had "avowed and taught doctrines inconsistent with the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church"; second, that he was "guilty of immoral and unchristian conduct."

The "specifications" under the first charge were: (1) that he rejected the Calvinistic doctrine of original sin; (2) that he denied the doctrine of the Trinity; (3) that he did not hold the doctrine of the decrees of God; (4) that he denied the Deity of Jesus Christ; (5) that he regarded the Sabbath as optional for Christians; (6) that he did not believe in intercessory prayer. The "specifications" under the second charge were: (1) that he was guilty of slandering some folk in New Orleans, (2) and some of his colleagues in the ministry; (3) that in denying the slanders he was guilty of falsehood; (4) that he also falsified in reporting an action of the Presbytery, (5) in the way he had taken his Presbyterian vows, and (6) with reference to a pastoral letter sent out by the Presbytery.

Clapp declared he was not guilty and requested a postponement because of illness and the absence of certain witnesses. His request was granted and the Presbytery adjourned to meet again in July in the Friendship Church, East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. Clapp failed to appear and asked for another postponement, which was granted, though the Presbytery suspended him from the exercise of his office until the trial should be terminated.

On December 12, the Presbytery was convened at Pine Ridge Church in Adams County, Mississippi, and ten days were taken up in the trial, in which Clapp was declared guilty on both charges and all "specifications" except the fifth under the first charge and the fourth under the second. On December 22 he was suspended from the ministry until he showed signs of repentance and his relation to the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans as stated supply was dissolved.⁹⁹ Indicating his defiance of the decision, Clapp preached the next night, December 23, in the Methodist

Church in Natchez. In view of this the Presbytery deposed him for contumacy on January 10, 1833.

The entire affair became known throughout the nation in a book called by Clapp *A Report of the Trial of the Rev. Theodore Clapp Before the Mississippi Presbytery at Their Session May and December, 1832*, for which the noted Unitarian leader, W. E. Channing wrote the preface. Both Clapp and Channing used this opportunity to criticize the Presbytery of Mississippi in particular and Princeton Theological Seminary and the Westminster standards in general.¹⁰⁰

Thus ended the trial but not the whole story, which has a surprising and delightful ending recorded but unpublished by W. E. Grafton and published by Frances Allen and James Allen Cabaniss. A leader in the prosecution of the case, Dr. George Potts, and the Rev. Benjamin Chase, who served as clerk of the Presbytery which deposed Clapp, many years later were visiting "one of the seashore watering places" in the north.

They walked out together to a quiet place on the beach and were standing with their faces toward the ocean, gazing at the wonderful vision before them, both absorbed in deep contemplation. While standing in this attitude they suddenly felt a hand gently upon the shoulder of each and they heard a long-forgotten voice behind them exclaim, "and Satan also came." Turning they saw Mr. Clapp standing between them. He had the old smile on his benevolent features, a smile which said that past animosities had been forgotten. The friendship which was that day renewed was never afterwards broken.¹⁰¹

Twenty-five years after the trial, Clapp wrote about the episode in a kindly manner. The passing of time and the reconciliation between him, Potts, and Chase had tempered his attitude. He said that the Presbytery had not been "cruel, bitter and vindictive" as some believed. He regarded the

relations between the Presbytery and himself as "cordial and friendly" and looked upon his deposition as a logical consequence of the collision of his views and those of the members of the Presbytery. "Had I been in . . . their places," he wrote, "I should have acted just as they did."¹⁰² This, of course, represents Clapp's view after it had been tempered by the years and freed from the tumultuous emotions of the time.

What Clapp's attitude was shortly after he was deposed can be determined by a sermon preached on the first Sunday in July 1834, in which he said that he "could no longer believe in, avow, teach, or defend the peculiar doctrines of the Presbyterian Church" and that he deemed it his duty "to wage against them, both in and out of the pulpit, a war of utter extermination."¹⁰³ He carried on this battle, though his goal of "extermination" of the evangelical faith fell notably short of that! He became the founder of the "First Congregational Church in the City and Parish of New Orleans,"¹⁰⁴ which in 1853 became the "First Congregational Unitarian Church" and continued his ministry there until 1858. This study is no longer concerned with Clapp's career or his church because after January 10, 1833, he was no longer the minister of a Presbyterian Church. Nevertheless one quotation would seem to be required before leaving the brilliant and erratic Theodore Clapp. It has been said that for thirty odd years New Orleans was noted for "the American theatre, the French opera and Parson Clapp's church."¹⁰⁵

BEGINNING AGAIN

As a consequence of Clapp's deposition, the Presbyterians were forced to begin anew. Nine persons left Clapp's church,

including Elders Hennen and Maybin, and secured on January 12, 1833 as stated supply the Rev. Joel Parker of the Presbytery of New York, who came to New Orleans as an employee of the American Home Mission Society. They continued the First Presbyterian Church and met with the little company which left Clapp's church in January 1832 in Paulding's warehouse on Lafayette Square.¹⁰⁶ Parker was installed as pastor by the Presbytery of Mississippi on April 27, 1834. The next year, the two groups came together and formed a single church.

In the summer of 1834, Parker went North to solicit subscriptions for a new church edifice planned on the site of Paulding's warehouse. While on this tour it was reported that he said that "there were about 40,000 Catholics in New Orleans, most of whom were atheists (at least the men), and that they regarded religion as good only for women and servants." When this statement and "various inflammatory articles" of comment on it appeared in the *Louisiana Advertiser*, wild excitement and indignation were engendered among the people. Parker was apprised of the situation and immediately issued a denial of the remarks attributed to him, supported by certificates from "responsible individuals in the northern cities and towns who had heard the public statements" he made.¹⁰⁷ But the mayor and the people were in no mood to listen "and prior to the return of Mr. Parker about the 20th of November he was hung in effigy once or twice."

When news came that the packet carrying Parker was approaching the city, word was sent by friends to the embattled minister imploring him to disembark at English Turn rather than in the city lest harm should befall him. This he wisely did. On December 13, Parker spoke at "Mr. Bishop's

Hotel" seeking to vindicate his innocence. Many refused to believe him and resolutions were passed by the city government asking the church to dismiss him. This the members refused to do at a meeting attended by fifty communicants. It is to their everlasting credit that the courageous members of this little church, which had lost its first leader and whose second minister had deserted it, should have stood behind its pastor in spite of the cries of the mob to smear him on unsubstantiated charges. They refused to accept rumor for evidence, following the great tradition of Presbyterian government,¹⁰⁸ and their pastor was vindicated.

The efforts of Parker and his people to raise money to construct a church building were successful. On March 15, 1835, the congregation, which had been meeting in a room on Julia Street, "generally overflowingly filled,"¹⁰⁹ moved into the basement of the new edifice facing Lafayette Square, on the site of Paulding's warehouse. The commodious structure was soon finished at a cost of about \$60,000. There were eighty-five members in March, 1836. For one period, he preached once per month on Sunday in the open air "at the port."¹¹⁰

Though he left in June 1838, the pastoral relation was not dissolved by the Presbytery until December 9, 1839. He wished to be dismissed by his Presbytery to the Presbytery of New York of the New School Presbyterian Church. The Louisiana Presbytery, erected in 1834 as the Amite Presbytery, of which Parker was the second moderator,¹¹¹ was reluctant to grant the dismissal "to unite himself to a body known to be hostile to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A."¹¹² Parker was finally dismissed by the Louisiana Presbytery and was attached to the Synod of New York. He had a brilliant career in his home state

and became a leading minister in the church.¹¹³ Behind this reluctance to release Parker was a great debate between the two Presbyterian General Assemblies, the New School, which favored broad subscription to the Confession of Faith, was anti-slavery, and favored the Plan of Union, and the Old School, which insisted upon strict subscription to Presbyterian standards, was pro-slavery, and opposed to the Plan of Union.¹¹⁴ "Sundry members of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans sent a letter to the Presbytery of Louisiana on October 10, 1837" indicating their approval of the abrogation of the Plan of Union and their allegiance to the Old School party.¹¹⁵ The letter was signed by S. Franklin, James Beattie, Samuel Slater, John Rollins, Richard Pearse, W. W. Caldwell, N. Goodale, Daniel P. Ruff, and W. T. Mayo.

This division occurred in 1837-38 and the bitter animosities of the controversy were still fresh. The Louisiana Presbytery was affiliated with the Old School General Assembly with its conservative theological and social doctrines. This incident points up the growing tensions which were to eventuate in the Civil War and a distinctive Southern Presbyterian Church.

BATON ROUGE

IN the meantime, Presbyterianism was being established in Baton Rouge, eighty miles northwest of New Orleans on the Mississippi River. The sessional records of the church there disclose that the first permanent Presbyterian minister to work in that area was the Rev. Thomas Savage, a licentiate and ordainee of the Mississippi Presbytery,¹¹⁶ who came in 1822. He preached alternately in Baton Rouge and a nearby village, Buhler's Plains, a few miles from the present town of

Zachary. He remained "about one year and a half" but "no church was at that time formed."¹¹⁷

In a report to the Missionary Society of the Mississippi Presbytery, which sent Savage into the Baton Rouge area, he advised "concentration of missionary exertion within [a] small compass." He said that he not only served as a preacher but visited "the chambers of disease and death" and reported "increasing regard for the Sabbath" and improving congregational attendance. Since Savage was laboring in a section into which Protestantism had only recently penetrated, he felt an "oppressive weight of responsibility to preach with persuasive earnestness to the hearts of men." He received a total of \$300.00 for nine months work, beginning April 1, 1822, and considered this "sufficient remuneration for his services."¹¹⁸ After Savage's departure there were "occasional visits" from transient ministers, such as James Smylie and Benjamin Chase.

In January 1827, John Dorrance, a student from Princeton Theological Seminary and licentiate of the Susquehanna Presbytery of Pennsylvania, came to Baton Rouge under the direction of the Missionary Society of the Mississippi Presbytery. He preached at Baton Rouge, Buhler's Plains, and Manchac. On March 1, it was agreed that Dorrance would preach "every Sabbath in the town," would live there, and would assume "the duties of a pastor,"¹¹⁹ though, strictly speaking, a church had not yet been organized according to Presbyterian standards. Sometime in April, Dorrance led in the formation of a "Sabbath School" at the Court House and on May 13, the American Tract Society established an outlet in Baton Rouge.

The time had come to establish a church. Accordingly, the Rev. Benjamin Chase preached at the Court House on

May 27, following which Sarah Walker, Mary Parsons, and Albert Penny were baptized and Parmelee A. Walker was ordained an elder. In the evening, others were examined for admission to the church initially called "The First Presbyterian Church of East Baton Rouge."¹²⁰

Jeremiah Chamberlain, who had accompanied Sylvester Larned to New Orleans and who became president of the College of Louisiana at Jackson in December 1826,¹²¹ joined Chase the next day and the two ministers administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, "the first time it was ever administered in this town by any Protestant clergyman."¹²² An "infidel" whose wife was about to partake of the Supper stopped her and made her leave and go home.¹²³ After this minor disturbance, Chase addressed the audience concerning "the nature and design of the church fellowship and read the articles of faith and covenant adopted by the church."¹²⁴ Thus "a new and important era in the ecclesiastical history of Baton Rouge" was inaugurated. Fifteen persons were constituted into a church, of whom six had not previously been members of other churches. "Some of them," state the sessional minutes, "had not seen the ordinance [of the Lord's Supper] administered in twenty-five years and none in less than five." Some "hardly knew what were the external forms of [the] administration [of the Supper]."¹²⁵

Charter members of the church who had been members of other churches were Elder Parmelee A. Walker, Sylvester G. Parsons, Richard H. Kinner, Josiah Alexander, Mrs. Mary A. Avery, Jane Searles, Mary Sea, Rachel Carle, and Margaret Tuttle. Those who became members for the first time were Albert G. Penny, Mrs. Mary Parsons, Sarah Walker, Elizabeth Stannard, Elizabeth Lilley, and Mary

Kinner.¹²⁶ Dorrance was elected stated supply of the new church.

Chase and Smylie continued to assist the Baton Rouge congregation. For example, on December 15 and 16, 1827, they visited Baton Rouge, preached at the church, and administered the Lord's Supper. Following Chase's sermon on Sunday, Dorrance "read the articles of faith and covenant" and "a number of persons" came into the church.¹²⁷

There were thirty-nine communicants in the church at Baton Rouge on April 2, 1828, fifty-five in April, 1829, and fifty-nine one year later.¹²⁸ In June 1830, Dorrance, who had been serving as stated supply since the church was organized, asked to be discharged¹²⁹ and was succeeded by J. R. Hutchinson, a young Pennsylvanian who reached Rodney, Mississippi, by boat in October 1829.¹³⁰ At this time, the Episcopal Church in Baton Rouge, which had been organized in 1820, ceased to function and Episcopalians began to attend Presbyterian services.¹³¹

In April, 1829, Baton Rouge was the site of a meeting of the ministers from the Presbytery of Mississippi for a discussion of the acute educational problem not only in the church but in the entire deep south. Despite efforts by the Legislatures in Louisiana and Mississippi to establish several educational institutions "not one individual was known to have graduated."¹³² Thus there was not at this time a single college prepared to give a complete collegiate education in Louisiana, Mississippi, and the Arkansas Territory, an area of 145,000 square miles with a population of more than 300,000, embracing the rapidly growing city of New Orleans. This was the beginning of a movement which eventuated in the organization of Oakland College near Rodney, Mississippi, which opened on May 14, 1830.¹³³

The Church of the Plains, near Baton Rouge, was organized on April 29, 1832, leaving eighteen members in the First Church. One year later, there were twenty-four communicants. In January 1834, Hutchinson resigned as pastor to go to the College of Louisiana at Jackson as a teacher.¹³⁴ For more than a year, the church had no regular minister and was served by transient Protestant preachers. The "Sabbath School" continued. An abortive effort was made by the Methodist minister in Baton Rouge to effect a union between his church and the Presbyterian congregation. However, "many" joined the Methodist Church with the understanding that they could transfer to the Presbyterian church when a permanent minister was secured.¹³⁵

In 1835, James Purviance, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary—a native of Baltimore, Maryland—was sent to Baton Rouge by the Mississippi Missionary Society to serve as pastor. "He was the man for the times," state the session records. "His southern birth and southern manners made him acceptable to the people," then increasingly embroiled in "the abolition excitement." There were "many additions" during his ministry, and the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church were said to be "better understood and more appreciated" than ever before.¹³⁶

Purviance was apparently a man of dogmatic temperament because he "sometimes came in collision," as J. B. Stratton phrased it, "with the opinions of . . . [his] brethren." His successful, though occasionally stormy,¹³⁷ ministry at Baton Rouge was concluded in May 1840. He moved to Adams County, Mississippi, where he succeeded Benjamin Chase as pastor of the Carmel Church. In 1854, he became president of Oakland College, a fact which makes it evident that he

still held the confidence of Presbyterian leaders. His gifted but impetuous nature was tempered by the years.¹³⁸

The church at Baton Rouge was struggling for survival when Purviance left. It was "unable to raise a salary sufficient for the maintenance of the Gospel ministry," say the sessional records. It was therefore resolved that "whereas the Board of Missions of the General Assembly have expressed a willingness to contribute \$200" to the church "that it be sought!"¹³⁹ It was sought and secured but it was not until May 5, 1844 that a new pastor, "Bishop"¹⁴⁰ Woodbridge, was installed. Personal tensions within the membership were added to the financial difficulties of the congregation in the 1840's.¹⁴¹

By 1853, there were ninety-one members in the church in Baton Rouge and the pastor's salary was \$800 per year. Four thousand dollars had been raised in two years for a new church building.¹⁴² In 1860, the membership had increased to 117.¹⁴³

The Coming of the Presbyterians

EARLY CHURCHES IN MISSISSIPPI

THE first Presbyterian churches in the Mississippi Territory were the result of impulses set in motion in 1800 by missionaries from the Synod of Carolina, one of whom, the Rev. William Montgomery, returned to Mississippi a decade later with his family to settle permanently. The two others were James Hall and James Bowman. They came down the "Natchez Trace" on horseback in 1800 and established preaching stations at Big Black, Grind Stone Fork, Clark's Creek, Bayou Pierre, Callender's Meeting House, Washington, Natchez, Jersey Settlement, and Pickneyville, the latter only a few miles from what was later the state of Louisiana. It is possible that these missionaries proceeded from Pickneyville into what became Louisiana. If so, the year 1800 marks the first meeting of Presbyterians and the first sermon by a Presbyterian within the boundaries of the later Louisiana.¹

The pioneer Presbyterian missionary efforts were built on a foundation of earlier efforts by Congregationalists, Baptists, and Episcopalians. Samuel Swayze, a Congregationalist, who came into Mississippi from New Jersey in 1772, was the first Protestant clergyman of whom there is a record in the Southwest. Swayze organized a congregation, whose separate existence ceased at his death in 1784, although later when Presbyterianism came into this section the remaining Congregationalists became Presbyterians. Another Congre-

gational minister, the Rev. Jedediah Smith, arrived in Natchez, Mississippi with his family on September 2, 1776. He became ill during the arduous journey from Granville, Massachusetts and died soon after reaching his destination. Dr. Dunbar H. Ogden, pastor of the Napoleon Avenue Presbyterian Church in New Orleans for many years, was a descendant of Smith.²

The Baptists formed a church near Natchez "on Cole's Creek" in October 1791. Richard Curtis, Jr. from South Carolina was elected pastor.³ The third Protestant effort preceding the coming of the Presbyterians was by the Rev. Adam Cloud of Delaware, an Episcopalian, who settled on St. Catherine's Creek near Natchez in 1792. He apparently did not organize a church but did provide a rallying point for Protestants. In 1795, his property was confiscated and he was arrested and sent in fetters to New Orleans for "preaching, baptizing, and marrying people contrary to the laws of the existing [Spanish] government."⁴

Until 1835, when the Presbytery of Amite was organized, Presbyterian churches in Louisiana were affiliated with the Mississippi Presbytery. Theodore Clapp, stated supply of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, joined the Mississippi Presbytery on October 30, 1823, less than a month before the formal organization of the church he served on November 23. The church in New Orleans was not planted by the Mississippi Presbytery but nevertheless participated actively in its work. The Presbyterian churches in Baton Rouge, organized in 1827, St. Francisville and Jackson formed in 1828 and the Friendship Church near Clinton, organized somewhat earlier, perhaps in 1824,⁵ were direct consequences of missionary efforts of the Presbytery. An account of the formation and early history of the Presby-

tery of Mississippi is thus pertinent to the story of Presbyterianism in Louisiana.

The Presbytery of Mississippi, designated briefly as the Presbytery of the Southwest, was authorized on October 6, 1815 by the Synod of Kentucky and met for the first time March 16, 1816 at the Pine Ridge Church, Adams County, Mississippi, several miles northeast of Natchez. This church, organized February 25, 1807 at Washington, Mississippi in the Methodist house of worship—and originally called Salem—is the oldest regularly constituted Presbyterian church in the state of Mississippi and probably the entire Southwest with a continuous history. It is the third oldest with respect to organization. Two older churches did not survive. Bethel Presbyterian Church near Uniontown in Jefferson County, was organized in 1804 by Joseph Bullen, probably out of what remained of Swayze's congregation,⁶ and functioned until 1822. It was probably the first Presbyterian church regularly organized in the Southwest.⁷ The graves of "Father" Bullen, as he was called, and that of his wife lie in a neglected spot close to the site of the old church. The Bayou Pierre Presbyterian Church, near Port Gibson, was also organized by Bullen early in 1807.⁸ Other Presbyterian churches founded in Mississippi were Bethany and Amite in Amite County, formed by James Smylie in 1808, which persist today, and Ebenezer, organized in 1811 by Jacob Rickhow, which was dissolved in about 1875.⁹ Other early churches in this area, formed after the Presbytery was organized, were Union Church by Joseph Bullen and Natchez by Daniel Smith, both in 1817.

Shortly after its formation the Salem Church was moved from Washington to Pine Ridge. Until about 1830, when a brick church building and session house were constructed,

the congregation worshipped in an edifice made of logs. The session house still stands but in 1908 the church was blown down by a tornado. Only the back wall and the pulpit, with the Bible on it, were left standing! The present sanctuary was erected at that time, incorporating what was left of the 1830 building.¹⁰

THE FIRST PRESBYTERY IN MISSISSIPPI

FOUR ministers who came into the Mississippi Territory as missionaries were closely associated with the early history of the Pine Ridge Church and the formation of the first presbytery. They were Joseph Bullen, the first moderator of the Presbytery, James Smylie, Jacob Rickhow, and William Montgomery.¹¹ The original group was completed with three elders—John Balls of the Bayou Pierre Church, Daniel Cameron of the Ebenezer Church, and John Grafton of the Pine Ridge Church. These seven men from six churches constituted the Mississippi Presbytery, the mother of all Presbyteries and Synods in the Southwest.¹² The Synod of Kentucky, of which this Presbytery was a part, embraced all territory west of Georgia; and the Presbytery of Mississippi included not only the territory of Mississippi but also the area now covered by the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Louisiana. The report of the presbytery stated that “at least 1,000,000” people lived within this vast section.¹³ There was not at this time a single Presbyterian church in the entire state of Louisiana.

James Smylie, a North Carolinian, who was sent to Mississippi by the Synod of the Carolinas in 1805, was the central figure in the formation of the Presbytery. He settled at Washington, near Natchez, Mississippi, where he founded

a "classical academy," which was probably "the first established in the Mississippi territory."

He undertook a dangerous and difficult journey through the wilderness on horseback, following the "Natchez Trace" through the country of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, to Nashville, Tennessee and obtained from the Synod of Kentucky, in session there on October 6, 1815, authorization to form the Presbytery of Mississippi.¹⁴ At the initial meeting of the Presbytery, of which he was the first clerk, at the Pine Ridge Church on March 18, 1816, "cordial thanks" were expressed to Smylie "for his disinterested, benevolent, and successful exertions in procuring the organization of the Presbytery."¹⁵

The Presbytery immediately sought aid from the General Assembly for its mission work and recommended Jacob Rickhow as its first missionary because he was "inured to the climate" and was, therefore, not ordinarily subject to yellow fever. Moreover, his "fidelity, zeal, and ability" fitted him for the demanding missionary task on the frontier. The Rev. Daniel Smith, a missionary from New England, who had just returned from New Orleans and who the following year founded the Presbyterian Church at Natchez, attended the first meeting of the Presbytery as a "corresponding member."¹⁶

These pioneer Presbyterians, living amid the crudities and ignorance of the frontier, endeavored to maintain the high standards of the ministry and to lift the moral and spiritual level of the communities in which they lived. The concern for learning which the clergy sought to sustain is symbolized in the minutes of the Presbytery for March 21, 1821, which record the examination of Thomas Savage, a ministerial candidate. This young man, who in 1822 became the first

Presbyterian minister to settle in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was meticulously examined in "exegesis, presbyterial exercise, and lecture" and then on "theology and church history." The exacting examination was sustained but, even so, his ordination was delayed until August 9, 1822.¹⁷ A report to the Presbytery in 1824 by a committee, of which Theodore Clapp of New Orleans was chairman, on "the education of poor and pious young men for the Gospel Ministry" is another evidence of the concern for an educated ministry.¹⁸ In 1825, the Presbytery showed its interest in doctrinal understanding among the people by indicating that copies of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* were "ready for delivery" to the churches.¹⁹

The first meeting of the Presbytery in 1816 was marked by grave concern because the "Sabbath" was "grossly profaned" throughout the presbyterial area. "It is not unusual," reported the committee on the state of religion, "to see carts and wagons travelling on the Sabbath and shooting is [also] practiced on this holy day. Indeed, in some places the Sabbath is scarcely known. This particularly applies," the committee emphasized, "to a great portion of the state of Louisiana."²⁰ Swearing and drunkenness were singled out and a warning was issued that "tippling and dram shops," far from being confined to "places of wickedness," had become "too much the fashion of the times." Strong drink could often be found in "the sideboards of the polished." The "practices of dancing and stage plays," particularly widespread in New Orleans, were severely frowned upon as "inconsistent with the character of a Christian."²¹

Such "inconsistent" living by some church members prompted a custom, which came from Scotland, of issuing communion "tokens" at each "preparatory service" preced-

ing observance of the Lord's Supper to those considered eligible by the church to partake of the sacrament. This practice, which excluded those deemed unworthy from the Lord's Supper, was calculated to deal drastically with those who had been guilty of "taking a wee drop too much or any other sin of omission or commission" by denying them tokens. Thus, when the members gathered at the long narrow tables to observe the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, only those who held up tokens or laid them on the table were served. It is impossible to determine how widespread this custom was or how long it was practiced. It was apparently confined to the early Presbyterian churches in Mississippi and probably did not penetrate into Louisiana. A description of the use of tokens in the Bethany Presbyterian Church, near Centerville, Mississippi has been preserved.²²

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS AND MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN SOUTH LOUISIANA

THE concern of the Presbytery of Mississippi about the dearth of evangelical Christianity in Louisiana in general and New Orleans in particular was shared by laymen and missionaries who lived and labored in that state. For example, Alfred Hennen, later an elder in the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, reporting for the Louisiana Bible Society in 1815, said that there was not a Bible for sale in a single bookstore in New Orleans. Soldiers marching through Louisiana to the Crescent City the year before "inquired in vain for a Bible."²³ Hennen, who was also president of the Bethel Union in New Orleans, reported regular preaching to the sailors in 1823²⁴ and by 1829 was seeking "to supply as speedily as possible every destitute

family within the state with the Word of God.”²⁵ How desperately the Bible was needed! D. D. Chestnut, a Presbyterian missionary in Iberville Parish, stated in 1829 that Roman Catholics were taught that the Bible was “dangerous to put into the hands of the people” because, without the interpretation of the Roman Catholic Church, it easily became an instrument of “heresy.”²⁶

An anonymous letter from New Orleans to the *Religious Intelligencer* in 1816 said, “This is a land of darkness; but it contains a few witnesses to the light.” A “weekly prayer meeting” was mentioned and the need for the “ministry of the Word” was asserted.²⁷ Another correspondent, writing to the *Boston Recorder* in 1823, objected because the New Orleans City Council had loaned \$6,000 to assist in completing the American theatre, which, he feared, would be a baneful influence there.²⁸ A correspondent of the Home Mission Society shared this fear and, in 1826, noted that one of the two theatres in the Crescent City was usually open on “sabbath evening” and was “numerously attended.” He also believed there were not more than one hundred and twenty “decidedly pious” individuals in New Orleans, a city of about 50,000 inhabitants with 25,000 Roman Catholics, 20,000 “nominal Protestants,” and a few Jews. He reported “six licensed gambling houses” into which people were lured by “every means.”²⁹ A letter from New Orleans, written in 1827, indicated the desperate need for missionaries there—“perhaps more than in any other part of the country.”³⁰

Benjamin Latrobe, the distinguished architect, who lived in New Orleans from 1808 to 1820, said that Sunday in the Crescent City was hardly distinguished from any other day. Shops, theatres, and ballrooms were open. He was afraid that the preaching of “the Presbyterian clergyman, Mr.

Learned [sic] . . . against this pretended profanation of the Sabbath with the countenance of the American majority" would eventually prevail and produce "gloomy" Puritan Sundays.³¹ His fears were poorly founded!

About 1824, Timothy Flint, a Presbyterian minister who established a school in Alexandria, said that he failed to find a single Protestant house of worship between St. Francisville and New Orleans.³² Five years later, forty inhabitants of the Parishes of Ascension and Iberville, in a letter to the American Home Mission Society requesting a missionary, stated that "from Baton Rouge to New Orleans . . . the Word of God is not preached in the English language; and [has] . . . never been preached on the Sabbath, and with very few exceptions, never on other days of the week."³³ A Presbyterian missionary laboring on both sides of the Mississippi River between Bayou Lafourche and Bayou Manchac in 1830 believed that "a field of labor more promising could not be selected" and thought that "the Hindu musing on the banks of the Ganges [was] not more completely enveloped in moral and intellectual darkness than the Acadian Creole." Undaunted by these difficulties, he established a Sunday School at Plaquemine, distributed tracts, and secured a lot at Donaldsonville, where he hoped to erect a Presbyterian Church.³⁴

An anonymous writer, concerned because "so very few intelligent ministers of the Gospel" ventured into Louisiana in this period, challenged "heralds of the cross" to match the courage of those who dared possible death from yellow fever "for filthy lucre alone."³⁵ The concern of the writer was well founded because, as the American Home Mission Society admitted in 1829, missionaries showed "little disposition to go to the neglected portions of the southern states."³⁶

This was changing somewhat in the latter 1830's. In 1837, James L. Cole, located at Donaldsonville, was working along Bayou Lafourche among Roman Catholics, "many of whom," he reported, "[wished] to become acquainted with the doctrine of the Bible as taught by Protestants."³⁷ In 1838, S. H. Hazard preached at Thibodaux to "an audience of respectable size" and reported a "Sabbath School with thirty scholars."³⁸ The same year in Opelousas, a town of 1,300, "eight to ten Protestants . . . erected a small house for public worship free for all denominations."³⁹ At the same time, the Rev. W. N. Melbrane traveled through southwest Louisiana, where he was "kindly received and entertained by the people and his preaching gladly heard." He visited "the children of a flourishing Sabbath School" at Plaquemine and "a settlement upon Bayou Gross Tete" near Plaquemine "and delivered the first sermon ever heard in that neighborhood to an attentive audience."⁴⁰ A source from this period speaks of the "scattered members" of the "church" at Plaquemine.⁴¹ It is not clear whether this church was merely a community of Presbyterians meeting informally or a fully organized Presbyterian church.

Notice should be taken at this point of a small colony of Presbyterians who, according to a secondary source, settled in Iberville Parish "in the early part of the nineteenth century." Joseph Irwin, a wealthy planter and plantation owner, was the leader of this community. The Rev. David D. Chestnut, a Pennsylvanian, came to this area in 1829. He married Irwin's granddaughter. Stuart O. Landry, a great-grandson of Chesnut, says that Chesnut was "pastor of Plaquemine, Louisiana" and that he also officiated in Ascension and East Baton Rouge Parishes. Chestnut died in 1837. Landry says that "a little Presbyterian church

... was built in Plaquemine around 1840."⁴² Primary sources bearing on this story are not available and, therefore, it is impossible to say whether the "church" at Plaquemine at this time was formally constituted according to Presbyterian standards or was merely an informal Presbyterian congregation. The minutes of the Louisiana Presbytery do not state when the church there was organized, though there are references to a congregation at Plaquemine in 1839, and "the Church at Plaquemine" is mentioned in 1843.⁴³ The church functioned for about a century. It was dissolved in 1942.⁴⁴

EARLY SYNODICAL DIVISIONS AND LOUISIANA PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

IN 1817, the Synod of Kentucky was divided and the Synod of Tennessee, of which the Presbytery of Mississippi was a part, was established. Eight years later, the Synod of West Tennessee, to which the Mississippi Presbytery was assigned, was extracted from the Synod of Tennessee. In 1829, the General Assembly divided the Synod of West Tennessee and created the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama, of which the Presbytery of Mississippi became a part.

At this time, there were eighteen ministers and twenty-two churches in the Mississippi Presbytery. Five of the twenty-two churches were in Louisiana: First, New Orleans, organized in 1823; First, Baton Rouge, formed in 1827; Jackson, started in 1828;⁴⁵ St. Francisville, organized the same year;⁴⁶ and Friendship Church, near Clinton, formed perhaps in 1824.⁴⁷ There were several other Presbyterian congregations in Louisiana which had not yet been formally organized into churches according to Presbyterian standards.

In December 1822, the Rev. Ebenezer Washburn was appointed as a missionary to the "destitute situation of Wilkinson County and the Parishes of Feliciana and East Baton Rouge." The Missionary Society of the Mississippi Presbytery reported that Washburn had been preaching in Louisiana in "Jackson, Bullin's Plains, Redwood Creek, and a settlement four miles southeast of Baton Rouge" and that he was "received with politeness and treated with attention by Christians of various denominations and also by those not professing to be pious." The Society also stated that Washburn was "to take as his compensation whatever he may collect for the Society but not to exceed forty dollars per month."⁴⁸ Seeds were sown by missionaries like Washburn but years, sometimes many years, were required for the seeds to produce full-fledged Presbyterian churches.

One of the results of this missionary activity was the organization of a church at Jackson, Louisiana. This is recorded in the *Minutes of the Mississippi Presbytery* and probably disproves W. E. Grafton's assertion, without documentation, that a church called "Florida" was organized by James Smylie "just outside the border of the territory of Mississippi over in Louisiana" between 1807 and 1811.⁴⁹ This church which Grafton said was subsequently moved to Jackson, Louisiana and continued as the Presbyterian Church there would be, according to this view, the oldest Presbyterian Church in the state of Louisiana, taking precedence over the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, organized in 1823. It is, of course, possible that a church was organized at "Scott's Settlement, Florida" as early as Grafton asserts but this is an unsupported conjecture which he apparently derived from Joseph B. Stratton, who likewise failed to provide documentation. What probably occurred

was that a Presbyterian congregation, not a formal church, was organized near Jackson in the early 1820's and that this congregation became a church according to Presbyterian criteria in 1828. There are several references in primary sources to Presbyterian meetings in or near Jackson beginning in 1823.⁵⁰ But there is no evidence of a formal church until the following entry in the *Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi* in 1828: "The Jackson and Scott's Settlement Church, [which was] organized by the Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain and John Patterson on the 2nd of March 1828, consisting of 33 members," was received under the care of the Presbytery.⁵¹ "Scott's Settlement" was actually about five miles from Jackson on the Wilson Road. The name of the church was changed by permission of the Amite Presbytery from the "Jackson and Scott's Settlement Church" to the "Church of Jackson" on October 20, 1836.⁵² Apparently the church was moved into Jackson in 1845. The brick building used today was constructed in 1852 and is the only antebellum Presbyterian church still standing in the Synod of Louisiana.

Perhaps it would be proper to mention at this point an undocumented tradition that a Presbyterian Church was organized at Alexandria "as early as 1817."⁵³ In the absence of documentation, the tradition must be regarded as extremely dubious, especially in view of several bits of information available concerning Presbyterianism in this area. The Rev. Samuel Royce—received as a licentiate by the Mississippi Presbytery in August 1816⁵⁴—was sent to the "valley of the Mississippi" by the Connecticut Missionary Society. Early in 1817, he crossed the Mississippi River at Baton Rouge and traversed territory which the historian E. H. Gillett says was "never before trodden by a Presby-



PHOTO BY CARL JULIEN
USED BY PERMISSION OF JOHN KNOX PRESS

First Presbyterian Church, Jackson, Louisiana

terian minister."⁵⁵ News of Royce's arrival in Alexandria brought such joy to a woman who had come from New England that she "sprang from her seat, clasped her hands, and said she had not heard such good news since she had been in the country."⁵⁶ Royce died in Alexandria in the Fall of 1819.⁵⁷

Timothy Flint founded a school at Alexandria in 1824 and was the central figure in a small Presbyterian community there. There is no evidence that a church was in existence or was organized,⁵⁸ though his biographer speaks of "the Seminary and Church" of which Flint "took charge."⁵⁹ The "church" was probably an informal Presbyterian community that met for worship and to which Flint preached. A "Mr. Clark" and a "Mr. Hull," otherwise unidentified, had preceded Flint in the Alexandria area but died of yellow fever after a few months' labor. They probably did not establish a formal Presbyterian Church either.⁶⁰

Flint's leadership was not sustained because he spent much time from 1825 to 1834 in travel and the last six years of his life in virtual seclusion. In his declining years, prior to his death in 1840, he "did not perform any of the duties of his early profession [the ministry]."⁶¹ Perhaps his espousal of what is vaguely described as "liberal Christianity"⁶² and his repudiation of Calvinism had something to do with his virtual break with Presbyterianism in his last years.

A report in *The Home Missionary* in September, 1829, reveals that there was not one Presbyterian minister in Louisiana west of the Mississippi River at that time and indicates that two ministers who had worked in the area, "the Rev. Mr. Clark and Rev. Mr. Hull died [of yellow fever] within a year or two" after coming to "the neighborhood of Alexandria."⁶³ This adds nothing to the information given above

about these two men. Flint was not mentioned in this report.

The first concrete evidence for a Presbyterian Church in Alexandria appears in the *Minutes of the Louisiana Presbytery* for March 20, 1844. "Bishop [Franklin] Ford informed the Presbytery," the record states, "that he had organized a church at Alexandria, Louisiana consisting of six members, of whom Joseph Weeks was ruling elder." Weeks was present at the meeting of the Presbytery at which the church at Alexandria was received.⁶⁴ The Presbytery met in Alexandria in March 1846.⁶⁵

The initial meeting of the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama occurred at Mayhew, Choctaw Nation, Mississippi on November 11, 1829. At this meeting, concern was expressed over the use of "ardent spirits" and total abstinence from alcoholic beverages was encouraged.⁶⁶ Efforts to "coerce" the removal of the Choctaw Indians westward were disapproved.⁶⁷ Reports that many had come forward in the churches to the "anxious seats" were received with gratitude.⁶⁸

At the meeting of the Synod in 1830, the Congregational Church at Emmaus, Mississippi was received into the Synod on the basis of the Plan of Union of 1801, an arrangement by which the Presbyterians and Congregationalists pooled their missionary resources on the frontier. This arrangement, however, was nearing its end due to a growing opposition, in which the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana shared, to the theological and social views associated with Congregationalism. Those Presbyterians who were sympathetic with the Congregationalists increasingly incurred the suspicion of the rest of the Presbyterian Church. Thus, in 1834, the Synod adopted the "Acts and Testimony," a statement criticizing certain alleged "errors . . . existing in the Presbyterian

Church.”⁶⁹ This view was widely shared and resulted in the termination of the Plan of Union and the organization of the Old School Presbyterian Church in 1837. The response of Louisiana Presbyterians to this event is suggested by a letter dated October 10, 1837, from the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans which expressed “unfeigned gratification” that the Plan had been abrogated.⁷⁰ The Synod of Mississippi and the Presbytery of Louisiana affiliated with the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church, an affiliation retained until the organization in 1861 of the Presbyterian Church of the Confederate States of America, to which the Synod and the Presbytery of Louisiana, as well as the Presbyteries of Red River and New Orleans, were attached.

The first meeting of the Synod of Mississippi, of which the newly organized Presbytery of Amite was a member, occurred on October 28, 1835. The Synod was made up of four Presbyteries—Amite (in Louisiana), Mississippi, Clinton, and Arkansas and forty-four churches with 1,402 communicants. The following ministers from Louisiana attended the initial session:

James L. Montgomery, stated supply, St. Francisville; Joel Parker, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans; John B. Warren, stated supply, Parish of Iberville; Abraham Hagaman, stated supply, Jackson; James Purviance, stated supply, Baton Rouge; Robert S. Finley, agent, stated supply, Pine Grove. The Plains and Friendship Churches were also listed in the records of the Synod.⁷¹

Growth in Louisiana

THE FIRST PRESBYTERY IN LOUISIANA

IT was recognized in the 1834 meeting of the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama that the Presbytery of Mississippi should be divided by a line "beginning at a point on the Mississippi River three miles below Natchez [Mississippi], and running east to the eastern boundary of the state of Mississippi and indefinitely west from the aforesaid point."¹ The territory south of this line comprised the Amite Presbytery.

At the first meeting of the Presbytery, at Carmel Church, Natchez, Mississippi, March 26, 1835, eight ministers, three licentiates, one ministerial candidate, and fourteen churches were listed as members. The ministers were James Smylie, John H. Van Court, Benjamin Chase, John L. Montgomery, W. C. Blair, S. H. Hazard, John R. Hutchinson, and Joel Parker. The licentiates were David C. Henderson, Francis Rutherford, and John T. Ewing. The ministerial candidate was Joseph F. C. Friley. The churches were Pinckneyville, St. Francisville, Carmel, Jackson and Scott's Settlement—a single church—Unity, New Bethany, Plains, Zion, Baton Rouge, Friendship, First in New Orleans, Salem, Woodville, and Pine Grove. It is evident from the record of the first meeting of the presbytery, which is in long hand, that the Pine Grove Church was added to the list after the lapse of a few years. The ink with which "Pine Grove" was written is of a lighter color than that used to write the names of

the other churches.² Furthermore, the minutes of the presbytery indicate that the Pine Grove Church was not organized until March, 1837.³

On October 31, 1836, the Amite Presbytery commissioned the Rev. A. B. Lawrence and Elder F. R. Southmayer to organize the Pine Grove Church near Covington, Louisiana.⁴ The church, formed early the next year, apparently persisted until March, 1854, after which no references to it are extant. There is no record of the representation of this church at either the Louisiana or New Orleans Presbyteries, though it is mentioned once in the records of the New Orleans Presbytery.⁵ There are several references to "Pine Grove" in the minutes of the Louisiana Presbytery. In each case, the record indicates that a "supply" was sent to preach there one Sunday per month at the discretion of the minister assigned.⁶ Jerome Twitchell of New Orleans held a "protracted meeting" at Pine Grove in 1842 or 1843.⁷

There is no connection between the Pine Grove Church, near Covington, and the Covington Presbyterian Church, organized in 1849.⁸ A school known as Fellenburg Institute was organized in West St. Tammany Parish in March, 1837 by Joseph F. C. Friley. It must have had a quick demise.

Presbyterianism had penetrated into St. Tammany Parish prior to the organization of the Pine Grove Church and Fellenburg Institute in 1837. Timothy Flint, a native of Massachusetts, came with his family to New Orleans in 1822 and, early in the following year, moved to Covington across Lake Pontchartrain, remaining there "seven or eight months."⁹ Flint's biographer says that he had charge of "two churches," one in Covington and the other in Madisonville, and that he conducted "a school" in Covington "in addition to his duties as a minister."¹⁰ Flint was impressed

with the punctuality of attendance of the people at public worship.¹¹ The "churches" at Covington and Madisonville were probably not Presbyterian churches in the sense of churches under the auspices of the Mississippi Presbytery according to Presbyterian standards but informal congregations gathered for worship because there is no record of churches at Covington and Madisonville at this time in the minutes of the Mississippi Presbytery.

Ministers actually present at the first meeting of the Amite Presbytery were Benjamin Chase, William C. Blair, Silas H. Hazard, John Van Court, and James Smylie. Joel Parker, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, arrived one day late. Chase preached a sermon, after which he constituted the Amite Presbytery by prayer and presided until an election took place, at which the Rev. S. H. Hazard was chosen moderator. Chase was elected stated clerk.¹²

Several sessions of the first meeting took place at Chase's house in the afternoons. Some things dealt with at the initial meeting of the Presbytery deserve brief references: the American Colonization Society, an organization seeking to settle free Negroes in Africa, was granted \$500 over a period of five years; the Missionary Society of the Amite Presbytery was organized; the *New Orleans Observer*, "a wise and temperate publication," was approved as long as its "present character" was maintained and a pledge was made to seek twenty-five new subscribers.¹³ It should be noted, also, that this presbytery, comprised of a majority of churches in Louisiana, held its first meeting in Mississippi!

The thoroughness with which candidates for the ministry were examined is suggested by the tests given to John Black at this and subsequent meetings of the presbytery. Thus the high educational standards which marked the Presbytery of

Mississippi were continued as Presbyterianism began to be solidified in Louisiana. This is illustrated by random notices in the presbyterial records of what was required of Black. He "was examined on his knowledge of the Greek language, natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, and geography—[and the examinations] were sustained."¹⁴ A little later, the Presbytery "resumed business and examined Mr. Black . . . on the evidences of Christianity and natural and revealed theology."¹⁵ Again, the records state that "Mr. Black's examination on revealed theology [was] concluded and sustained."¹⁶ A year later, Black appeared again before the Presbytery and "exhibited a critical exercise on Romans 8:3, which was sustained. He also exhibited a Latin exegesis."¹⁷ At last, he was licensed!

The Amite Presbytery petitioned the Synod of Mississippi to change its name "so that hereafter it may be known as the Presbytery of Louisiana."¹⁸ The petition was granted on October 26, 1836. Except for a brief period in 1844 and 1845, when the New Orleans Presbytery functioned temporarily, the Louisiana Presbytery was the only Presbytery in the state until February 10, 1854, when the Red River Presbytery was organized.

GROWING PAINS

IN the 1830's Louisiana Presbyterianism was entering a new phase attended by considerable tension within the church and the nation. Theological controversy became extremely bitter, resulting in 1837 in the formation of the Old School Presbyterian Church, with which the Presbytery of Louisiana affiliated. Dominated theologically by Princeton Theological Seminary, a stronghold of Confessional Calvinism as

expounded by Charles Hodge¹⁹ with strong anti-revivalistic and pro-slavery sentiments, Old School Presbyterianism set the dominant pattern of thought by which Louisiana Presbyterianism was guided until the Civil War. The Old School party took the initiative in abrogating the Plan of Union with the Congregational Church. It is thus clearly evident why Presbyterianism in Louisiana followed the Old School General Assembly in its directive to sever all ecclesiastical connections with the Congregational Church. The growing suspicion of the theological and social views of Congregationalism in the 1830's is an added reason for the diminishing popularity of Theodore Clapp among Presbyterians. As has been pointed out, Clapp was not a Presbyterian but a Congregationalist and was stated supply of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans on the basis of the Plan of Union, which permitted such a relationship. Had he not been deposed in 1833, it is quite certain that his deposition would have occurred anyway within a few years due to the growing theological solidarity of Presbyterian ministers in the South, who largely followed Princeton orthodoxy. Close ties between Presbyterian churches in Louisiana and Princeton Seminary at this time are evident in correspondence and resolutions of appreciation for assistance rendered.²⁰

The emphasis in the period under review was upon a deepening denominational sense. This is shown not merely by the theological tendency noted above, which was strongly denominational, but also by a growing concern for education under specifically Presbyterian auspices. In 1836, the Presbytery of Amite appointed a committee "on the subject of establishing a theological seminary in the Southeast."²¹ In the same year, the Synod of Mississippi, to which the Louisiana churches belonged, passed a resolution concerning the

establishment of a professorship of theology at Oakland College,²² near Rodney, Mississippi, a Presbyterian school owned and operated by the Synod, which had opened in 1830.

This period also was marked by a growing emphasis upon Presbyterian standards. For example, the Amite Presbytery in 1836 resolved that it was "contrary" to the standards of the church and "inconsistent" with the Word of God to baptize children neither of whose parents was a church member. At the same meeting, the resolution was amended so that it would not be "so construed [as] to interfere with the regulations of the General Assembly by which plantation owners are authorized to dedicate their servants to God by baptism."²³ In 1838, the Presbytery declared: "We sincerely and fervently hope that all our churches will awaken to the important duty of reviving the practice of our fathers in teaching their families the Assembly's catechism."²⁴

In 1833, James Smylie, dissatisfied with the widespread view in the churches that slavery should be abolished, concluded that the accepted notion was not supported in the Scriptures. He preached a sermon which "gave great offense" to his hearers and the Presbyterian leadership, who warned him against further pro-slavery sermons. There is much evidence to support the view of Lewis G. Vander Velde that Smylie "first—before McDuffie or Calhoun—advanced the theory that slavery is a positive good recognized by the Scriptures as belonging to the great social system. . . ."²⁵

Smylie, who was serving as stated clerk of the Mississippi Presbytery in 1836, replied to a resolution sent by the Chillicothe [Ohio] Presbytery against the "sin of slavery" by seeking to justify his pro-slavery sentiments in Scripture.

If slavery were wrong, Smylie demanded Biblical proof and set forth his views in a pamphlet.²⁶ He held that since the Bible enjoined the duties growing out of the relation of master and servant that Scripture sustained the institution of slavery and the duty of the Christian was to work for proper relationships within the framework of slavery. Smylie practiced what he preached in the latter years by devoting his ministry exclusively to the religious instruction of the slaves in the Mississippi Synod, to which, of course, churches in Louisiana belonged. At times, he even stirred up the anger of slaveholders whom he castigated for neglecting their duties to their slaves. He also prepared a catechism for the slaves that was approved by the Synod.

Smylie's views were violently opposed at first but rapidly came to define the attitude of most of the churches in the South on the subject of slavery. Presbyterians moved from an anti-slavery though a neutral position to a defense of slavery. The neutral position is symbolized by a resolution passed by the Synod of Mississippi in 1835 which denied the right of the church to interfere in political or civil affairs.²⁷ The point, of course, was that the church should not become embroiled in the slavery controversy.

Along with other denominations, the Presbyterian Church was adjusting itself to the demands of southern culture. The attack upon slavery was interpreted as an attack upon the civilization of the South, whose social and economic basis was the plantation system and, therefore, cotton and slavery. The revisionists, who regard slavery as, at best, a subsidiary source of the Civil War, have pointed up the complexity of the cause of the conflict but sometimes at the price of underestimating the importance of slavery, whose role in the South was even more emotional than economic. The involvement

of religion in the issue infused the entire matter with a massive moral fervor and gave to the defense of slavery the prestige of an alleged Biblical sanction. At least in the field of church history, it is quite evident that slavery was a central issue in the Civil War. The sources are replete with this theme. Innumerable papers, pamphlets, and sermons reveal the intense preoccupation with slaves and slavery—the right to have slaves and to retain slavery. Nothing could be more evident than this. The Presbyterian press in the South argued for secession on the eve of the war.²⁸ One southern observer believed that the “revolution” was “accomplished mainly by the churches.”²⁹

Churches in the South followed a course of expediency which led to compromise with the growing slavocracy. The pattern was a familiar one and quickly came to characterize the churches—“cotton and slavery, expediency and compromise,” in the words of W. B. Posey.³⁰ By the end of the 1830's, this pattern was fairly well established. In the two subsequent decades, it was solidified and increasingly championed by southern churchmen, one of the most notable of whom was Dr. B. M. Palmer, who became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans in 1856.

But this is to get ahead of the story. Smylie's pamphlet was the first step which issued eventually in the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America in December 1861. Some of the steps in between in the Presbyterian Church of Louisiana and Mississippi must be sketched.

Following Smylie's blast against abolitionism, there was a growing tendency in the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana—still confined to the southern part of the state—and Mississippi to turn its attention away from the basic moral issue posed by slavery to the religious instruction of the slaves.

In other words, the church, holding increasingly that slavery itself was sanctioned by Scripture, devoted its energies to an attempt to bring about a more "Christian" operation of the institution. This is precisely what Smylie had in mind. In 1834, the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama registered "deep interest" in the "colored people" and commended the efforts which were being made "to impart to them religious instruction." Such efforts encountered grave difficulty because of state laws which prohibited white people from teaching colored folk to read.³¹

In 1843, the Presbytery of Louisiana commended a Mrs. Coleman for "her laudable desire to bring up her servants in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."³² Two years later, an inquiry was made through the Presbytery of New Orleans by "a number of neighboring planters . . . for suitable chaplains" for their slaves.³³ In connection with the inquiry, it was stated that there were "100,000 persons of color" in Louisiana, of whom 40,000 probably belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.³⁴ It was pointed out that in "nearly all" the churches seats were provided for Negroes but that only about 5,000 enjoyed the "regular and constant ministrations of the Gospel."³⁵ The reason so few colored people were reached was attributed to "the mournful fact that the attention of the . . . churches" had been diverted "to another and entirely different subject," the abolition of slavery, which was unrelated to the "spiritual and immortal welfare" of the slaves.³⁶

Some Protestant planters expressed a growing reluctance even to provide religious instruction for the slaves because they feared such instruction might produce dissatisfaction among them concerning their servile status. These planters had been "alarmed by the movements of a certain class of

men in the North" and, therefore, they excluded "all ministers of the Gospel from their plantations."³⁷

By 1846, Louisiana Presbyterians were solidly pro-slavery, wished the church to refrain from involvement in the rising political controversy over slavery, and believed that "religious instruction" of the slaves was the Christian approach to the matter, though some planters were even opposed to this. The theory of Dr. J. H. Thornwell, which Lewis G. Vander Velde has called "the ultra-spiritual character of the church,"³⁸ advanced in 1859, was thus anticipated in Louisiana in the 1840's.

In 1846, it was reported to the Synod of Mississippi that a slave, Harrison W. Ellis, and his family had been purchased jointly with the Synod of Alabama for the purpose of sending them to Africa as missionaries under the care of the Board of Foreign Missions. The Presbytery of Louisiana thus shared in this strange venture.³⁹

Ellis, who was called "the learned blacksmith of the South," was impressive in his examination before the Presbytery of Tuscaloosa. "It was almost incredible," said an unidentified observer, "to see and hear one who had been all his life a slave, with none but the ordinary privileges of a slave, reading a production [which was] so correct in language, so forceful in style, so logical in argument."⁴⁰

Ellis and his family sailed from New Orleans for Monrovia, Liberia in December, 1846. A letter from Ellis in 1847 gave a perceptive review of conditions there and commended the colonization scheme, by which slaves were purchased in America and sent to Africa.

But the Ellis experiment ended in failure. The Presbytery of Tuscaloosa suspended him from the ministry in 1854. Precisely what prompted this action is not clear, though it

was probably elicited by an incident in which Ellis was accused of "assault . . . and fighting."⁴¹

His name was carried on the roll of the General Assembly through 1857 as still suspended. In 1869, he was listed in the statistics of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. under the Presbytery of West Africa, Synod of New York. He died in Liberia in 1870.⁴²

Another sidelight on the treatment of slaves appeared in 1850, when the Rev. J. H. Van Court admitted to the Louisiana Presbytery that his slaves had been guilty of cutting cane on Sunday. He claimed that the labor was "a work of necessity" due to an unexpected freeze in early November. The Presbytery did not approve his action but did not censure him for it.⁴³

A curious episode disclosed that Van Court's status in the ministry was not impaired by the cane cutting episode. In 1855, the Louisiana Presbytery sought to correct a premature announcement of Van Court's death in the minutes of the General Assembly. "The name of J. H. Van Court," the Presbytery declared, "who is still living and now present with us at this meeting is enumerated among the ministers who have died during the past year."⁴⁴ Reports of his death had been greatly exaggerated!

PRESBYTERY OF NEW ORLEANS

A PRESBYTERIAN missionary, Daniel Baker, wrote a letter on February 18, 1840, which preserves an interesting and important picture of this historical period and helps to explain the emergence of the Presbytery of New Orleans in 1845. In the letter, Baker stated he had traveled by stage from Florence, Alabama, to Memphis, Tennessee, where he remained for two weeks because the water on the Mississippi

River was "very low," reducing boat traffic. He managed to secure passage down the river on "a steamboat of light draft" and, "after much detention on the way by reason of getting aground," the boat finally reached New Orleans on January 4. While in the city, he addressed the "Sabbath School and rendered some little service" to Dr. John Breckenridge, who succeeded Dr. Joel Parker as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. He spent a week in the Crescent City on his way to Texas, which was rapidly opening up to immigrants. Due to a "disposition" of people in the South to go to Texas, he was sure that its population would be doubled in a few years.

He spoke of four steamships running from New Orleans to Galveston, Texas, two of which carried the mail weekly. He reminded his correspondent that, since Texas was not yet a part of the United States, it was necessary in writing a letter to an address in Texas to pay not only the postage to New Orleans but also between New Orleans and its Texas destination.⁴⁵ Texas became a state in 1845 and the first adhesive postage stamp appeared two years later! Presumably Baker, an avid letter writer, who made his way to Galveston and organized a Presbyterian church there, was vastly pleased with both events, which accelerated the flow of people and mail through New Orleans to Galveston and points west.

Until the advent of railroads into Texas directly from the North and East, New Orleans was the major point of transfer for people going to this western country. Many of these folk seeking their fortunes in the new West were Protestants and some of them stopped and settled in New Orleans. The immediate impulse out of which the New Orleans Presbytery grew was the accelerated economic activity, the increasing

population, and widespread advertisement of advantages offered by the Crescent City which were coincidental with this mass movement to and through the city by people of Protestant persuasion. The prosperity of this period is suggested by the fact that the Rev. John Breckenridge, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, was paid a salary of \$5,000 per year in 1840 and was allowed \$200 per month extra "and more if required"⁴⁶ during his summer absences!

In view of these developments, it is not surprising that in January, 1840, the Rev. Jerome Twitchell was employed by the First Presbyterian Church to work with the Negroes, the inmates of the city prison, the seamen at the Orleans Cotton Press, and "in the district of Lafayette." On February 4, 1840, he held a service in the home of a Mrs. Dick, at which thirty people were present. This was the germ of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church. A house of worship, costing \$5,000, on Fulton Street between Josephine and St. Andrew, was completed in January, 1842. The success of this enterprise was due primarily to the "personal exertions" of Twitchell, who collected "nearly all the money" required to erect the building.⁴⁷ The church was organized according to Presbyterian regulations on September 21, 1843 with twenty members and Twitchell was installed as pastor in January, 1844.⁴⁸

The Lafayette Church was host to the first meeting of the New Orleans Presbytery on December 13, 1844.⁴⁹ The new presbytery was the result of a resolution offered to the Synod of Mississippi on September 30, 1843. The request was granted the next month.

The boundaries of the new presbytery comprised South Louisiana below a line running eastward along Bayou Man-

THIS MAY CERTIFY, That

Martin Bailey

is a MEMBER of the

First

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

in his City

in good and regular

standing: as such *he*

is, at *his* own request, hereby affectionately

RECOMMENDED

to the Fellowship of the ~~Presbyterian~~ Church

of *New Haven*

or of any other Church of Jesus Christ

with whom God, in his providence, may appoint *his* residence; and

when received by them, *his* peculiar relation to this Church will be dissolved.

By order of Session,

Gardner Spring

Moderator.

Given at

New York

May 12: A. D. 1841

chac and the Amite River to Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, including St. Tammany Parish—and below a line running due west from the junction of Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi River to the western boundary of Louisiana.⁵⁰

The second session of the first meeting of the presbytery took place in "The Church on Lafayette Square" in New Orleans, as the First Church was often called. It was agreed that each member should "pay into the treasury fifty cents, semi-annually for the contingent expenses of the Presbytery."⁵¹ J. B. Warren, "the indefatigable publisher" of the *New Orleans Protestant*,⁵² preached the sermon at this meeting. It was published in his paper.⁵³

Meetings planned in January and February, 1845, were not held due to the lack of quorums, indicating a numerical weakness in the Presbytery which would soon contribute to its temporary suspension. On April 15, 1845, a quorum was secured and a meeting was held at the First Presbyterian Church, at which twenty-two members of that church asked to be organized into the "Second Presbyterian Church" in New Orleans.⁵⁴ This was done and the church was organized April 19, 1845.⁵⁵ The Rev. R. L. Stanton, who had come to the Crescent City in November, 1843, on the invitation of the First Church to serve as a city missionary,⁵⁶ was the first pastor of the new church.⁵⁷

At this meeting, it was announced with pride that none of the ministers of the presbytery was "engaged in secular business as his profession or main occupation."⁵⁸ Regret was expressed concerning the "prejudices against the Gospel" amid the 120,000 persons in New Orleans, of whom Protestant churches could accommodate only 10,000,⁵⁹ and the need was noted for missionaries to the "20,000 souls that wander[ed] the greater part of the year, like sheep without

a shepherd, along the levee and warves of the city, and on board [the] flatboats."⁶⁰ Notice was also taken at this meeting of the "new and very neat and commodious house of worship" which had recently been erected at the junction of Prytania and Calliope Streets for the congregation of the Second Church at a cost of about \$9,000 and for "two other places of worship recently opened in the city,"⁶¹ the Lafayette Church and a group then meeting downtown which became the Third Presbyterian Church on March 7, 1847.

In April, 1845, there were six ministers and three churches with 574 members in the New Orleans Presbytery. The ministers were J. B. Warren, editor of the *New Orleans Protestant*; William Scott, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, with 510 members; Robert L. Stanton, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, with twenty-two members; Jerome Twitchell, pastor of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, with forty-two members; H. G. Blinn, licentiate, Madisonville, Louisiana; and James Beattie, chaplain to the Seamen in New Orleans.⁶²

The Rev. William Scott of Tuscaloosa, Alabama succeeded the Rev. John Breckenridge as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans in the fall of 1842. He was pastor of the church when the New Orleans Presbytery was formed in 1844. Scott became involved in a curious episode, which largely accounted for the suspension of the Presbytery. He was accused of saying that he had seen Henry Clay, a candidate for the presidency of the United States, "play cards on the Sabbath" on a Mississippi River boat and then denying that he had made the accusation.⁶³ Thus, he was charged with a deliberate falsehood. Added to this he was accused of falsifying the records of the Presby-

tery, with "unclerical conduct," and with "unduly exalting the powers of the pastor of a Presbyterian Church."⁶⁴

The struggling presbytery found it difficult to carry on the trial of the pastor of its most influential church. The problem was particularly acute because the presbytery was so small. It is not surprising, therefore, that on October 14, 1845, the Presbytery of New Orleans asked the Mississippi Synod to dissolve it and allow "its members to be reunited to the Presbytery of Louisiana."⁶⁵ This was done, and the case concerning Scott was assumed by the Presbytery of Louisiana, with which the Presbyterian Churches in New Orleans were reaffiliated. Presbyterianism in extreme South Louisiana was not yet strong enough to sustain a separate presbytery, particularly in a time of internal crisis. The New Orleans Presbytery persisted for less than a year—from December 13, 1844, to October 14, 1845.

TENSIONS AND CONTINUED GROWTH

THE trial of Scott, which precipitated the dissolution of the New Orleans Presbytery, was taken up by the Louisiana Presbytery, with which the churches in New Orleans resumed affiliation.⁶⁶ Voluminous testimony was taken in the case, covering almost five hundred pages in long hand. Every facet of the matter was meticulously examined. The trial evoked national interest because of its political implications. Henry Clay, whom Scott had allegedly accused of misconduct, was pitted against James K. Polk for the presidency of the United States.

Scott was compelled to confront an arduous and extended examination for his alleged assertion about Mr. Clay, the allegation that he had altered presbyterial records, and his

conduct as a minister. On January 6, 1846, "the moderator declared that in each of the charges and specifications in the presentment of the Presbytery of Louisiana, the Rev. W. A. Scott, D.D., is declared not guilty."⁶⁷

There was one dissenting vote, by the staunch James Smylie, who was not afraid to stand alone if he believed he was right. He thought Scott was guilty and said so in a treatise entitled *Tract on the Trial of W. A. Scott*.⁶⁸ His extensive writing about this episode was concluded with an article in the *Delta Presbyterian* in which he said he wished "to terminate forever the unhappy difficulties" of the controversy.⁶⁹ Scott was thus vindicated, with only one negative vote, and he continued as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans until November, 1854, though the pastoral relation was not dissolved until the following September. There is no evidence to support the assertion of Allen Cabaniss that "not long after the publication [of Smylie's tract], and probably due in large measure to it, Dr. Scott left New Orleans. . . ."⁷⁰ Actually, Scott remained in the Crescent City for eight years following the trial and, though it is possible that his moving to the West Coast was partly prompted by the unhappy episode, that view is only an inference and is not based upon the sources.

The view of the "Sabbath" implied in the incident treated above is amplified by a question presented by "Bishop" Woodbridge to the Presbytery of Louisiana in 1844. "Is it wrong," he asked, "under ordinary circumstances, for a member of a presbytery at a meeting which is held out of his own congregation to travel home on the Sabbath?"⁷¹ The presbytery declined to answer the question by a vote of six to five. The matter of travel on Sunday was discussed for many decades in presbyteries in Louisiana and became par-

ticularly acute after the advent of Sunday excursions on the railroads. Steamship travel on the "Sabbath" also became an issue. In 1858, when the General Assembly met in New Orleans, a boat on which many Presbyterians were traveling to the Crescent City for the meeting was tied up at Lake Providence on Sunday at their request, to which the captain acceded when he was presented a sum of money to halt the ship for twenty-four hours.

At the same meeting of the Louisiana Presbytery at which Woodbridge posed his question about traveling on Sunday, J. Delauney, a licentiate, proposed a plan for establishing a "mission house and school" in Donaldsonville in Ascension Parish or somewhere in South Louisiana "for the benefit of the French population."⁷² Neither this proposal nor his alternative plan to go to Opelousas to begin work materialized but Delauney's proposals mark the beginning of specific interest on the part of the Presbytery in the French in South Louisiana.

At this time, 1844, the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana was concentrated largely in the southern part of the state. Except for a church organized by the Rev. J. Franklin Ford in Alexandria early in 1844⁷³ and the three churches formed by the Rev. T. H. Cleland in East Carroll Parish later that year,⁷⁴ Louisiana Presbyterian churches were confined to New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and territory near those cities.

A report made to the Presbytery of Louisiana in 1845 states that Louisiana, west of the Mississippi River, had but "one Presbyterian minister."⁷⁵ The "minister" to whom the report referred was probably the Rev. J. Franklin Ford. However, there were several other ministers west of the river at this time. The Rev. James Gallaher was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Shreveport and the Rev. T. H.

Cleland was working in East Carroll Parish. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Presbyterian churches, ministers, and missionaries, with the exceptions heretofore mentioned, were at this time confined to South Louisiana east of the Mississippi River.

In the late 1840's, Presbyterian growth in southeast Louisiana was noteworthy. Not only in the Crescent City but in the adjacent territory churches sprang up rapidly. In 1847, a resolution was passed by the Louisiana Presbytery to organize a church at Madisonville,⁷⁶ where H. G. Blinn had been preaching, and to "approve of the efforts of the people of Plaquemine to build a Presbyterian house of worship."⁷⁷ On June 6 of the same year, the Presbyterian Church at Thibodaux was organized by the Rev. Daniel McNair.⁷⁸ The church at Covington was organized in 1849 by the Rev. S. B. Hall.⁷⁹

The Louisiana Presbytery scheduled a meeting at Covington on March 17, 1852 but only two ministers and three elders appeared. When it was discovered that "many of the brethren" were waiting in New Orleans, "without any means of getting to Covington" it was resolved that the Presbytery should be adjourned to meet in New Orleans.⁸⁰ This episode symbolizes the slender lines of communication which held the Presbytery together in these times.

Railroad transportation was still in its rudimentary stage, especially in the deep south. In 1852, there were only sixty-three miles of railroad in the entire state of Louisiana.⁸¹ Until the Civil War, the principal routes in Louisiana were the waterways, particularly the Mississippi and Red Rivers. It is, thus, evident why the major centers of population and the first churches appeared on or near the Mississippi and Red Rivers: New Orleans (1823), Baton Rouge (1827),

St. Francisville (1828), Alexandria (1844), Shreveport (1845). Railroad building, which was just beginning at the outbreak of the Civil War, and the extensive railroad expansion following the war war forged new transportation links which changed population patterns and produced widespread geographic realignment. The shape of Presbyterianism bears the mark of these changes.

The 1850's were thus the opening of a period of transition, when railroads were just beginning to appear, foreshadowing a day when they would displace water transport as the main mode of travel. It was an exciting time! New problems made new strategies mandatory. A committee of the Presbyterian churches in New Orleans commented in 1852 upon the "mighty wonders" of the age produced by "physical science" and feared that the "unparalleled energy" of the new epoch was being expended too largely upon "secular" interests. The "progressive age" coming to birth was little interested in religion. Everything seemed to be moving forward rapidly except the church, which "alone" seemed "almost at a standstill, paralyzed from the apathy of her members."⁸² The concern but not the apathy reflected by the report was shared by the churches. Subsequent events prove that they were far from a "standstill." In New Orleans and throughout the state, the Presbyterian Church was preparing to seize the new situation for the Gospel. A part of this strategy was the formation of two new presbyteries, the Red River Presbytery in 1854 and the renewed New Orleans Presbytery in 1855.

NEW ORLEANS PRESBYTERY RENEWED

At mid-century, New Orleans was growing rapidly. A missionary committee reported in 1852 that a "tide of im-

migration" was "filling up" the city and spoke of increasing economic activity.⁸³ The telegraph had just been invented, the Mexican War won by the United States, and, as indicated above, railroad construction was getting started. The nation was beginning to feel its gigantic powers.

The Presbyterian churches in the Crescent City and adjacent territory were growing and girding themselves for the new era. "The Gospel is regularly preached," said an anonymous writer in 1851, "in the French language by two evangelical ministers. Many families are anxious to learn for themselves," he continued, "the difference between the Bible and the practices of the Roman Church."⁸⁴ Colporteur and missionaries were doing well despite yellow fever, cholera, and floods. A pioneer colporteur and missionary was Herman Packard, who came to New Orleans from Massachusetts in 1837. He worked four years, "without pecuniary compensation, among the boatmen and raftmen along the Mississippi River."⁸⁵ He was subsequently Superintendent of Colportage in the southwestern states. Interest in foreign missions was growing, too. This is suggested by the "Youths' Missionary Society of the Morning Sabbath School of the Presbyterian Church on Lafayette Square," which contributed \$150 for the "education of six children in India or China."⁸⁶ In 1849, the Presbyterian churches in New Orleans contributed \$800.43 to the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Assembly. The remaining churches in Louisiana gave \$284.03 to the same cause.⁸⁷

The Prytania Street Presbyterian Church was organized May 31, 1846⁸⁸ with twelve members in the "American" section of the city above Canal Street, known as Lafayette, which, strictly speaking, was a separate municipality. Prytania Street was the main thoroughfare of Lafayette. St.

Manchester, 12th July 1847

It is hereby certified that Mr J Love has for a number of years resided in this town - that on coming hither he produced suitable testimonials of character - that since that time he has been a member in full Communion with the Church under our Pastoral care - that he has been steadfast in his profession and circumspect in his conduct - that he is held in good estimation by the Session, & well respected & beloved by all who know him - that he leaves this in full communion & good standing - & that, therefore, he may be admitted to sealing privileges wherever Divine Providence orders his lot.

Alexander Munro Min.
of the Scotch Church St. Peter's Square.

Charles Avenue, which later superseded Prytania Street as the major uptown artery, was the route of a railroad line linking the French Quarter, Lafayette, and the town of Carrollton.

Casper Auch, a member of this church, was instrumental in founding in 1854 the First German Church, which, in 1918, became the First Street Church.⁸⁹ A fund "for the poor" in the Presbyterian churches of New Orleans, known as the Casper Auch Fund, is currently in the custody of a number of churches in the New Orleans Presbytery. Each of eleven Presbyterian churches in the Crescent City received about \$11,000. In most instances, accumulated interest across the years on investments has increased the amount held by the churches. For example in 1953, the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans held \$18,500 of the fund in trusteeship. At the same time, the Prytania Street Church held \$12,000 and the Claiborne Avenue Church \$13,200. To illustrate how the money is used, the Rev. D. H. Edington, Jr., who in 1953 was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, indicated that expenditures varied widely from year to year. He stated that sometimes the interest for a single year was expended completely and at other times "relatively small" amounts were used.⁹⁰

This gifted man, born in Germany in 1811, came to America as a lad. Starting in the lumber business, he widened his holdings by purchasing "the omnibus line" in New Orleans, investing in real estate, and organizing the Lafayette Insurance Company. He was one of the great benefactors in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana.⁹¹

The Third Presbyterian Church in New Orleans was organized on March 7, 1847, growing out of a group which

first met for study and worship in 1844 at 20 Moreau Street. The eighteen charter members came from the First Presbyterian Church. This was the initial Presbyterian church in New Orleans below Canal Street. The Rev. Elias R. Beadle, who in 1846 became pastor of the Prytania Street Church and who was brought to New Orleans by the First Church as editor of the *New Orleans Protestant* and city missionary, helped greatly to preserve and strengthen the nucleus out of which this church grew. Elder Frederick Stringer, a pillar in the Third Church for almost fifty years and an active participant in the affairs of Louisiana Presbyterianism, must be mentioned with appreciation for his vast contributions.⁹² In 1856, Dr. Henry Martyn Smith became pastor of the Third Church, a position he occupied with distinction until 1884. He became the first editor of *The Southwestern Presbyterian* on February 25, 1869 and four years later was elected moderator of the Southern Presbyterian Church.⁹³

On April 11, 1847, the Fourth Presbyterian Church was formed. This church grew out of the "Seamen's Friend Society" organized in 1836 by the Rev. H. Loomis in a room over a storehouse on the levee of the Mississippi River near Esplanade. One of the young men engaged in the Sabbath School, which was continued in the French Quarter after the Society for seaman was moved uptown, was Dr. C. C. Lyon, a ruling elder in the later Fourth Church and an important Presbyterian leader at this time. The first pastor was the Rev. Noah F. Packard, whose tenure was brought to a premature end in less than a year by yellow fever. Herman Packard, no relation to the first pastor, who came to New Orleans in 1838 to minister to "the spiritual destitution of the flatboatmen and raftmen" who worked on the river, was chiefly responsible for the formation and perpe-

tuity of this church in the early years of her struggling history.⁹⁴

Thus within less than a year, three Presbyterian churches were organized in New Orleans. This added strength made renewal of the New Orleans Presbytery likely as soon as the Presbyterian churches in and near the Crescent City felt they were strong enough to sustain a separate presbytery.

A presbytery in extreme Southeast Louisiana was, furthermore, the inevitable consequence of the unique history of Presbyterianism in that section. The churches which made up the Louisiana Presbytery in 1854, after the Red River Presbytery was formed, exclusive of the churches in the New Orleans area, grew out of the missionary activities of the Mississippi Presbytery, whereas the churches in and near the Crescent City had a different source. The First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans was largely indigenous enterprise fostered by non-Roman Catholic "Americans" who came to the city early in the nineteenth century seeking their fortunes. The leaders of this and subsequent churches were not sent by the Mississippi Presbytery but came as result of their own initiative or invitations extended by the churches themselves. Whereas the churches in and to the north of Baton Rouge were the direct result of missionary activities of the Mississippi Presbytery and thus sustained a much closer relationship to Presbyterianism in Mississippi than the churches in New Orleans and vicinity. Furthermore, the Presbyterian churches in New Orleans were in a Roman Catholic context, where the Puritan mores of frontier Christianity were considerably weaker than in Mississippi and the areas into which the Mississippi Presbytery had projected Presbyterianism. The Presbyterian movement in extreme South Louisiana thus had an origin and character somewhat

different from other sections of the state. It is not surprising, therefore, that the renewal of the New Orleans Presbytery, which had functioned briefly in 1843-44, was suggested in 1853.⁹⁵ The recommendation to the Mississippi Synod from the Presbytery of Louisiana was, however, not sent to the Synod for consideration at this time.⁹⁶ Almost two years elapsed between the initial recommendation and the actual renewal of the New Orleans Presbytery.

At Canton, Mississippi on November 25, 1854, the Mississippi Synod recommended the formation of the New Orleans Presbytery, "embracing all of the state of Louisiana south of Donaldsonville, lying on the west side of the Mississippi River, and all of that part of the state east of the River and on the margin of . . . Lake [Ponchartrain] until it strikes the western boundary of St. Tammany and Washington Parishes and thence with the state line to the mouth of Pearl River." At this same meeting, the Mississippi Synod framed a resolution, which was sent to the General Assembly, requesting that it be divided into two Synods so that one should be composed of the Presbyteries of Red River, Louisiana, and New Orleans and the other of the four remaining presbyteries. This latter request was not granted and forty-six years elapsed before the Louisiana Synod was organized in 1901.⁹⁷ In 1894, when the question of dividing the body arose again, the Synod opposed the proposed division.

On January 8, 1855, the following ministers were present at the first meeting of the renewed New Orleans Presbytery: S. Woodbridge, who was elected moderator, T. J. Henderson, James Richards, A. Campbell, Sidney Hayes, A. P. Chamberlain, William McConnell, and D. T. Baker. Elders present included M. Greenwood, Prytania Street Church; Frederick Stringer, Third Church; William A. Bartlett, First

Church; and Shubael Tenney, Thibodaux. Several ministers were absent—J. R. Hutchison, G. B. Hall, J. Twitchell, W. A. Scott, and N. B. North. These thirteen ministers who were members of the Presbytery compared with six ministers in the abortive New Orleans Presbytery dissolved in 1845. Within a decade the number of Presbyterian ministers in southeast Louisiana had more than doubled.⁹⁸ There were three churches in the Presbytery of New Orleans when it was terminated in 1845. The reactivated New Orleans Presbytery a decade later was made up of those three churches—First (1823), Lafayette (1843), and Second (1845)—plus Prytance [Prytania] Street (1846), Third (1847), Fourth (1847—later Canal Street), Madisonville (1847), Thibodaux (1847),⁹⁹ and Covington (1849).

With the organization of the First Presbyterian Church of Carrollton in September 1855,¹⁰⁰ the New Orleans Presbytery embraced eleven churches, of which eight were in the Crescent City, and two Chapels—Bouligny, built in 1850, which became "The First Presbyterian Church of the City of Jefferson" in 1861 and ten years later the Napoleon Avenue Presbyterian Church,¹⁰¹ and Thalia, formed in 1853, which became the Memorial Church in 1860. The church at Houma was organized on December 5, 1857,¹⁰² almost two decades after the first reference in the sources to Presbyterian work at Houma.¹⁰³ A church building was erected at Arcola in 1858. This was several years prior to the organization of a Presbyterian church there. The church at Amite was organized in 1860.¹⁰⁴

The Presbytery was described as "exceedingly weak" in the narrative of the state of religion in 1858. Of the eight churches in New Orleans, two possessed "considerable numerical strength." The rest, including the two chapels, were

housed "in inconvenient and unsuitable buildings." As for the churches in the presbytery outside the city, they were "feeble" and the anonymous author of the "narrative" was uncertain as to the number but believed there were "three or four!"¹⁰⁵

Subsequent history shows that this estimate was unduly pessimistic. Presbyterianism in south Louisiana in the New Orleans area was not "exceedingly weak." There were sources of strength which increasingly became evident in the period before the Civil War. In 1859, the New Orleans Presbytery was enlarged. The western edge of the Presbytery was extended to the western boundary of Ascension Parish and the Amite River to the Louisiana line, including Osyka, Mississippi. The Presbytery was extended northward to the Louisiana line and eastward along the state line to the state of Alabama. This change incorporated the Gulf Coast region in Mississippi into the Presbytery.¹⁰⁶ In 1861, the "Female Seminary" at Thibodaux was transferred to the Presbytery by the Trustees of the institution.¹⁰⁷ In the same year, the Presbytery had twenty-five ministers, fifteen churches, and 1,296 members, of whom sixty-seven were Negroes.¹⁰⁸

It was during this period that Dr. B. M. Palmer came to New Orleans as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, a position he occupied for almost forty-six years, the longest single pastorate in Louisiana Presbyterian history. He was installed December 28, 1856. This thirty-eight year old South Carolinian quickly gave solidarity to the Presbytery. In the succeeding five years, he emerged as a leading American churchman. He was the first moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, organized December 4, 1861, at Augusta, Georgia. He was a central figure in the controversy over slavery and with Dr.

J. H. Thornwell, his close friend, defined the position of the Southern Church. He was the dominant figure in Louisiana Presbyterianism for almost half a century.

In 1860, Palmer was offered a professorship in Princeton Theological Seminary, which he declined. By this time he was not only an established theological scholar but also a man of affairs. Later the same year, he preached a Thanksgiving sermon advocating secession of the South from the United States and, if necessary, resistance against the federal government "till the last man" had fallen "behind the last rampart." His devotion to the Confederacy knew no bounds. "May the Lord God," he declared, "cover her head in the day of battle." He welcomed war if war was required "to preserve and transmit . . . [the] existing system of domestic servitude."¹⁰⁹ When armed conflict erupted, he did "more for the Confederate cause," someone has suggested, "than a regiment of soldiers."¹¹⁰

He addressed the troops of the Washington Artillery just prior to their departure for the field of battle in Virginia on May 26, 1861. The moving speech was delivered from the steps of the classic portico of the City Hall. About five thousand citizens, besides the soldiers, were present on this occasion, which symbolized the major place Palmer occupied in the community and his large contribution to the Confederacy.

Continued Expansion

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

AT the first meeting of the Amite Presbytery in March 1835—it became the Louisiana Presbytery the following year—"the Missionary Society of [the] Amite Presbytery" was organized. A resolution was passed asking the members of the presbytery, the church sessions, and the licentiates and ministerial candidates "to exert themselves" to secure subscribers for the Society "and to form missionary associations" in their communities.¹ It is not strange that these Presbyterians should have been deeply interested in missions. Thirty-five years before this meeting, missionaries had come into the Natchez area from the Carolina Synod to begin the work which culminated in this presbytery. They were living witnesses to what missionary concern could do and were, therefore, determined to extend the blessings of the Gospel to others.

Some idea of the missionary interest of the presbytery is suggested in 1836 by the "Committee on supplies," which assigned the following fields to be supplied for at least one Sunday during the year: Friendship, A. Hagaman; Pinckneyville, Benjamin Chase; Homichitto, W. C. Blair and Benjamin Chase; Alexandria, J. B. Warren and Joel Parker; Bethany, A. Hagaman and J. L. Montgomery; Pine Grove, A. B. Lawrence; Franklin, A. B. Lawrence; Buhler's Plains, J. L. Montgomery; Pisgah, Benjamin Shaw and J. L. Montgomery.² Some of these were organized churches—Friend-

ship in Clinton, Louisiana, and Pinckneyville, Mississippi, for example. Most of them were apparently small Presbyterian congregations meeting informally. This is the first reference in the *Minutes* to Presbyterian work in Franklin, Louisiana. A "little church" was functioning there in 1869 but it did not persist. A new church was formed at Franklin in 1897. The Pine Grove Church, near Covington, Louisiana, was organized in 1837.

A similar list of congregations "to be supplied," in the October 18, 1839 records of the Presbytery, contains Plaquemine, Louisiana, for the first time. A Presbyterian community probably existed at Plaquemine prior to this but this is the first reference to it in the *Minutes of the Louisiana Presbytery*.³ The Rev. J. B. Warren was assigned to preach there at his discretion. The Mississippi Synod reported on October 2, 1839 that Stephen Hodgman "performed ten months' labor at Plaquemine and vicinity."⁴

Warren was also laboring at "New River and vicinity" in Ascension Parish in 1839.⁵ Others were working here and there but there were "no strong revivals of the religion of the Lord."⁶ James Smylie was devoting his "whole labors" to "instructing the slaves connected with two congregations."⁷ Plans were in process for "planting several new missions" and for the organization of "two or three churches."⁸

In 1840, a crisis faced the Louisiana Presbytery with reference to missionary policy. The Synod of Mississippi in October of that year dissolved the synodical organization for the "management of domestic missions within its bounds"⁹ and referred to the presbyteries the responsibility of sponsoring a missionary program.¹⁰ The "depressed condition" of the country and a debt of \$5,000 accounted for this change of policy. The Presbytery of Louisiana, therefore, declared

itself "an association for prosecuting domestic missions within its bounds," which would be an auxiliary of the General Assembly's Board, but refused to accept \$2,000 of the \$5,000 debt apportioned to it by the Synod and insisted that the Board of the General Assembly itself should assume the debt delegated to the presbytery by the synod. A salary of \$1,000 per year was declared as the maximum amount which would be paid a missionary. The Board of Domestic Missions which the presbytery formed was made up of "three bishops and three laymen" with authority to organize and direct a mission program in behalf of the presbytery.¹²

For more than a year after the Board of Domestic Missions was formed by the Presbytery, it failed to meet due to the "great distances" which separated the members, "ill health, inclement weather, necessary absence or some other providential influence. . . ."¹³ There are, nevertheless, indications in the *Minutes* of efforts to extend the Gospel. For example, in 1841, there were "between four and five hundred pupils" in the "Sabbath Schools" of the Presbyterian churches in New Orleans. Several masters were cooperating in permitting ministers to preach to their slaves.¹⁴ There were "regular ministrations of the Gospel" on "about twelve plantations" by ministers devoted entirely to this work.¹⁵ But "fanaticism" and "infidelity" were said to be widespread and there was a dearth of young men in training for the ministry.¹⁶

In April 1842, the Presbytery decided that the Board of Domestic Missions should not follow through on its plan to become an auxiliary of the Assembly's Board. This left the missionary operations of the Presbytery entirely in its own hands. An appeal was made to the churches in the Presbytery for the support of home and foreign missions.¹⁷

A board of five—three ministers and two laymen—was constituted by the Presbytery, superseding the Board which failed to function.¹⁸

Two years later, the Board reported that it had granted financial assistance to the churches at Baton Rouge, St. Francisville, Plaquemine, and Plains. Mission work was getting along better but there were serious obstacles. The "scattered condition of a large part of the population" made the missionary task exceedingly difficult. The claim, made by Episcopal as well as Roman Catholic clergymen, that only ministers ordained by bishops in alleged apostolic succession were validly ordained created problems also, especially in South Louisiana. The circulation of the Bible, tracts, and religious books, the promotion of "Sabbath Schools," and regular preaching for seamen and "people of color" were some of the means used to propagate the Gospel.¹⁹

By 1848, new territory was being entered. This is suggested by the places to which the Presbytery sent supply preachers. Some of the new areas mentioned were Morganza and Bayou Chicot, west of the Mississippi River in Louisiana, and Algiers, across the river from New Orleans.²⁰ Four years later other communities were feeling the impact of the Presbyterian witness—Franklin, in southeast Louisiana; Pass Christian, on the Mississippi Gulf Coast; and the Grand River region.²¹ A little later, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi was mentioned.

A new pattern of missionary endeavor emerged as result of the formation of two new presbyteries in Louisiana in 1854 and 1855. The coming of the railroads and then the Civil War—and its aftermath—resulted in new strategies which will be traced subsequently.

THE REV. ELIAS INSLEE, HOME AND
FOREIGN MISSIONARY

THE Rev. Elias B. Inslee, who worked as a missionary along Bayou Grosse Tete as a youth while living at Rosedale, Louisiana, was probably the first foreign missionary from the Southern Presbyterian Church. He built a tiny house which still stands in Rosedale and lived a life of strenuous discipline and extreme frugality, eating hard crackers and little more, in preparation for the missionary career he contemplated in China.²²

This gifted and dedicated Christian was born about 1823. There are no available records dealing with his early years. He attended Oakland College in Mississippi and the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. His formal education came after his labors along Bayou Grosse Tete. He was a missionary in China from 1856 to 1861.²³ During the years of the Civil War, he was apparently in the United States. In this period, he visited Louisiana and on one occasion returned to Rosedale, to which he walked from Baton Rouge, a distance of more than twenty miles across the Mississippi River.

In 1866, Inslee returned to China, where he founded the first mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church in Hangchow the following year. He remained in China until 1870. Illness forced him to return to America and he died of dropsy in New Orleans, Louisiana, April 8, 1871. His body was transported to Baton Rouge by boat and thence was taken "by buggy to Grosse Tete for burial." Later Inslee's body was re-interred in what at the time was the cemetery of the Rosedale Presbyterian Church. The church has been sold to the Baptists but the cemetery remains intact and Inslee's

grave is marked by a marble slab giving his name, the years of his life, 1823-1871, and the notation, "missionary to China 14 years."²⁴ He probably was not in China for fourteen full years, though he first went to that country in 1856 and left the last time in 1870, because he spent several years in the United States during the Civil War.

PRESBYTERIAN BEGINNINGS IN NORTH LOUISIANA

THE Missionary Society of the Mississippi Presbytery passed the following resolution on May 27, 1822: "that the Rev. Henry White be employed as missionary and agent during three months commencing the 28th inst. in the country of Red River and parts adjacent [in Louisiana], and that he receive 40 dollars per month as his compensation." This is the first reference in the sources to Presbyterianism in North Louisiana. But it is a reference to an unfulfilled plan because White, for reasons not given, "was unable to proceed to Red River."²⁵ In 1823, the Rev. Edmond Lanier was employed by the Society "to preach the Gospel on his route to New Orleans, and thence to Alexandria [Louisiana] on Red River if he should go there. . . ."²⁶ But he did not "go there" much less beyond that point and North Louisiana thus remained untouched by the Presbyterian witness.

A pioneer Presbyterian minister in North Louisiana, perhaps the first, was the Rev. A. R. Banks. After graduating from the Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, in his home state, he went to Arkansas as a missionary. The hardships he bore were suggested in a memorial to him in the *Minutes of the Red River Presbytery*.²⁷ He often traveled "for days on horseback, through wild, unknown

regions, swimming creeks and rivers" in his missionary pursuits. One such journey brought him into North Louisiana, perhaps as early as 1836. B. C. Bell²⁸ has preserved an undocumented tradition, derived from J. T. Manry, that Banks passed through Shreveport in that year and spent the night with Captain Henry M. Shreve, who cleared away the "great raft" of snags and logs in Red River, opened it to boat traffic into North Louisiana, and became the founder of Shreveport.²⁹

In 1838, Banks came from his home in Springhill, Arkansas and preached at various points in Claiborne Parish, including the courthouse at Overton, three miles from Minden on Bayou Dorcheat.³⁰ This was probably the first Presbyterian meeting in Claiborne Parish, which embraced all the territory in North Louisiana from the Ouachita River on the east, Red River on the west, the state of Arkansas on the north, and on the south township number thirteen.³¹ Overton was the parish seat for a time but had to be abandoned due to unhealthy conditions produced by the constant overflow of Bayou Dorcheat. The people of Overton were absorbed by Minden, founded in 1837 by Charles Veeder. Gravestones of some of the ancestors of members of the Minden Presbyterian Church may be seen at the site of Overton.

"In 1838 or 1839," the Rev. A. R. Banks and the Rev. John Boggs conducted a series of meetings at Minden. Some "twelve or fifteen were converted," among whom were some of the leading citizens of the area. No church was organized, though Boggs continued to reside and preach in Minden for nearly two years.³²

The first Presbyterian church in North Louisiana with a continuous history was organized, not at Minden, however,

but in Shreveport in February, 1845, by a commission from the Central Mississippi Presbytery of the Synod of Mississippi. Twenty Presbyterians were led in this notable venture by the Rev. James Gallaher, who served as pastor for two years.³³ The charter members were A. V. Lea, Robert Willis, Bethunie B. Willis, Eliza Watson, T. A. Williamson, M. B. Willis, L. B. Willis, Emily E. Lewis, Sarah B. Lee, Mary A. Lee, Ann Curry, Jame Curry, James H. Black, John M. Lewis, John W. Morris, Johnathan Dodge, E. W. Bancroft, Mary C. Hartcuff, Hannah Pollock, and "a colored girl belong[ing] to Mr. Lea."³⁴

The church was received into the Louisiana Presbytery on October 20, 1846.³⁵ The place of meeting for the first six years is not known but in 1851, during the pastorate of the Rev. J. Franklin Ford,³⁶ who served the church from 1850 to 1856, a commodious and "beautiful brick edifice" was erected on Market Street. Negro members of the church worshiped in the basement of the building.³⁷

Several matters relative to the early history of the church should be noted. The Rev. James Gallaher, the first pastor, wrote *The Western Sketch Book*, giving vignettes based upon his travels through the Mississippi Valley. For example, he described the territory west of Shreveport in 1845 as "pathless," requiring the help of an experienced guide to get through.³⁸ Following a common custom of the period, members of the church rented pews, the choicest of which—"between the pulpit and the gallery"—cost \$25.00 per year. Several leading members died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1853. In 1857, the Rev. Daniel Baker, a pioneer preacher in the southwest, for whom a college in Texas was named, held a revival meeting in the church.³⁹ An elaborately ornamented bell in the steeple was contributed by the congreg-

gation to the Confederacy for use in making of artillery shells. The building was used as a hospital during the Civil War and, at the close of the conflict, was occupied as a barracks by Federal troops.⁴⁰ The Rev. W. C. Dunlap, for whom the Dunlap Memorial Church in Shreveport was named, was pastor of the First Church for eighteen years, beginning in 1868. He was a distinguished member of the religious and cultural community.

The Rev. T. H. Cleland, a contemporary of the Rev. James Gallaher of Shreveport, organized three churches in East Carroll Parish in 1844.⁴¹ This is the first reference to work by Presbyterians in northeast Louisiana, except for the bare statement appearing in the *Minutes of the Louisiana Presbytery* in 1841 that a man named "Shaw," otherwise unidentified, was sent to "Carroll Parish" to preach "once or more."⁴² The churches Cleland organized at Lake Providence, Pecan Grove, and Milliken's Bend did not survive. The original communion service used in the Lake Providence Church, which was inundated by the Mississippi River, is still in the possession of a family in that community. More than a century passed before another Presbyterian Church was organized at Lake Providence in the Town Hall on October 14, 1957.⁴³ Cleland, who worked in this section for eight years, removed to Mississippi, where he remained for two decades before returning to Louisiana as pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Delhi in 1871.⁴⁴

The exact date on which the Presbyterian Church at Minden was organized is not known, though it was possibly in 1847—according to Silas McIver.⁴⁵ The first solid evidence in the early history of the church is the record of the installation of the Rev. John E. Davidson as pastor on February 12, 1854,⁴⁶ at the initial meeting of the Red River Pres-

bytery. This gifted young man, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary in 1853, served briefly "with great acceptance," as it was quaintly put, and was taken by death.⁴⁷

The amazing J. Franklin Ford came to Minden in 1856 as pastor of the church and president of the Minden Female College, positions he held simultaneously for eight years. During this time, he preached in the vicinity of Minden and "did much to keep together and build up the few scattered Presbyterians . . . living in this western country."⁴⁸ He was thus occupied until 1864, when he returned to Shreveport to open an academy for young ladies and assume again the pastorate of the First Church.

In 1848, the Louisiana Presbytery authorized the organization of a church by the Rev. S. P. Helme called Bethel about fifteen miles south of Shreveport on the Logansport road.⁴⁹ U. B. Currie believed that the Bethel Church building was the "first frame house of worship erected in Louisiana west of the Mississippi River."⁵⁰ Though this is quite doubtful,⁵¹ it was certainly one of the first Presbyterian church buildings in North Louisiana. It was the fourteenth built by the pastor, S. P. Helme.⁵² The place of worship was moved from its original location to Keatchie in 1856 because most of the members of the Bethel Church had moved away. Three years later, the Red River Presbytery, to which the church belonged, changed its name from Bethel to Keatchie. The new edifice erected at Keatchie was said by the pastor, the Rev. B. F. Peters, to be the "finest church building in North Louisiana except the Presbyterian church at Shreveport."⁵³

The initial Presbyterian Church in the Parish of Claiborne, then embracing the later Webster Parish, was organized by the Rev. J. Franklin Ford in August 1851, twenty

miles east of Minden and two miles south of Athens "in a log schoolhouse" and called Midway.⁵⁴ On November 4, 1851, the Presbyterian Church at Homer was also organized by Ford in the building of the Baptist Church. The Rev. J. T. Davidson moved to Homer early the next year and, while supporting himself by teaching school, served the church as pastor and eventually organized several churches in the area.⁵⁵

In the summer of 1852, the indefatigable J. Franklin Ford organized a church in the home of Robert D. Frierson in DeSoto Parish. The charter members were five white people and twenty-two negro servants. It was named Good Hope. Later the name was changed to Frierson Memorial Church, which was absorbed into the First Presbyterian Church in Shreveport in 1926.⁵⁶

Again the name of J. Franklin Ford is encountered in connection with the church at Mansfield, which he founded in 1853. He did the work of several men! Merely to list his accomplishments suggests the incredibility of it all. He organized the Presbyterian Church in Alexandria in 1844—the first Presbyterian church in Louisiana west of the Mississippi River with a continuous history—, served as pastor of the church in Shreveport for two periods, from 1850 to 1856 and again after the Civil War, was instrumental in organizing the Midway, Homer, Good Hope, and Mansfield churches, was pastor of the church at Minden from 1856 to 1864, and presided over two schools! He occupies a large and significant place in the early history of Louisiana Presbyterianism.

Two other churches organized in 1853 and 1854 respectively, prior to the formation of the Red River Presbytery, were Alabama Church in Lincoln Parish and Mt. Zion in Caddo Parish.⁵⁷

THE RED RIVER PRESBYTERY

J. E. DAVIDSON described the state of Presbyterianism in north Louisiana in 1853 in an article in *The Home and Foreign Record*.⁵⁸ Riding horseback through "Bosher" [Bossier], Caddo, DeSoto, and Bienville Parishes, he discovered Presbyterians who had been "long without the Gospel." In Claiborne Parish, he found "three infant churches" organized by J. Franklin Ford and two in DeSoto. "The people of Mansfield," he said, "had never seen but one other Presbyterian minister. Some of the members . . . wept bitterly when I left them." He noted "another small band" of Presbyterians near Mansfield also organized into a church by Ford. There was a "neat frame church" and a membership of twenty-one or twenty-two, of whom fourteen or fifteen were Negroes. "Yes, even here," he wrote with deep feeling, "in this new and wild country we have slaves who are Presbyterians and who love the church as dearly as they do their own lives." At Monroe, in "Washita" [Ouachita] Parish, "an interesting little town of about 1,200 to 1,500 inhabitants" he discovered a newly constructed house of worship but no minister.

North Louisiana, Davidson said, was "rather thinly settled" and belonged to "a few wealthy planters," one of whom wanted a preacher for his slaves at a salary of \$500.00 per year and a house. The people were "worn out with the prattle of uneducated men" and wanted trained ministers. The time was ripe, he believed, for a "new Presbytery . . . to be called the North Louisiana Presbytery." Since he said that "something towards" the formation of the presbytery had been done,⁵⁹ it is clear that plans were in process at this time which eventuated in the Red River Presbytery in 1854.

The Louisiana Presbytery had already presented an overture to the Synod of Mississippi on March 18, 1853 requesting the constitution of two new presbyteries—New Orleans and Red River.⁶⁰ That same year, on December 17, the Mississippi Synod recommended the formation of the “Red River Presbytery,” bounded on the north by the Louisiana state line, on the east by a line commencing at the northeast corner of Morehouse Parish and following the eastern boundary of that Parish until the line thus produced intersected Red River, continuing down Red River to its mouth, and thence due west to the state line.⁶¹ Thus the northeastern corner of the state was not originally a part of the Red River Presbytery, to which it was not attached until April 2, 1874. As late as 1891, this section called “Mesopotamia, the overflowed district between the Ouachita and Mississippi Rivers,” was hardly touched by the Presbyterian witness. There were nine churches but not a single minister.⁶²

The new Presbytery was directed to meet at Minden on February 10, 1854. The first meeting was held on that date in the First Methodist Church.⁶³ After a sermon by the Rev. J. Franklin Ford, “the father of the Red River Presbytery”—a richly deserved designation—the roll was called. Three ministers were present: J. Franklin Ford, J. E. Davidson, and S. P. Helme. Six ruling elders participated in the initial meeting: Dr. J. B. McKemie, Minden; D. Neely, Homer; F. Symington, Midway; Dr. George P. Frierson, Good Hope; L. Smith, Alabama; and J. M. Lewis, Shreveport. Three other churches which belonged to the Presbytery at its inception were not represented at this meeting: Mansfield, Bethel, and Mt. Zion.

Ford was elected moderator and stated clerk, further evidence of the high esteem in which he was held. The Rev. B. F. Peters was received from the Presbytery of Louisiana.

Joseph T. Davidson, who had been working as a missionary in North Louisiana, a licentiate of Flint River Presbytery, and James M. Hall, a licentiate of the Louisiana Presbytery, were ordained. The Presbytery approved the call of the Rev. J. E. Davidson to the Minden Church.

The Committee on the fund to send Commissioners to the meeting of the General Assembly gave the assessments of the churches for that purpose. The assessments are recorded here because they suggest the relative strength of the churches in the Presbytery:

Alabama Church	\$12.00
Homer Church	10.00
Midway Church	7.00
Minden Church	15.00
Mansfield Church	8.00
Good Hope Church	7.00
Bethel Church	7.00
Mt. Zion Church	7.00
Shreveport Church	20.00

"A three days meeting" was planned at Homer, preaching missions were projected in Bossier and DeSoto parishes, and two ministers were appointed to visit Arcadia and organize a church there, if advisable. Other matters taken up at this historic meeting which cast light upon Presbyterianism in North Louisiana at this time were the request that the members of the Presbytery "take an active part in the circulation of *The Home and Foreign Record* and some of [the] . . . weekly religious papers;" the recognition of the successful establishment of a "Collegiate Institute by the Rev. [S. P.] Helme in the vicinity of Shreveport;" the plan to secure a "Colporter to circulate the books of [the] . . . Board of Publication." On Saturday, the Presbytery adjourned "to meet at sunrise" the following Monday!⁶⁴

The second meeting of the Presbytery took place September 14-16, 1854, at Shreveport. Four ministers and six elders were present when the meeting opened. The Rev. J. Franklin Ford, who had been serving the First Church in Shreveport on a part time basis since 1850, announced his intention to give "the whole of his time" to the church and was duly installed as pastor by the Presbytery. The Rev. B. F. Peters was asked to look into the possibility of organizing a church at Monroe, Louisiana.⁶⁵

At the third meeting of the Presbytery at Homer in March 1855, it was announced that two churches had been recently organized—Salem in Claiborne parish and Ebenezer in the parish of Caddo.⁶⁶ Later that year, the Presbytery decided to "explore the field embraced in the parishes east of Claiborne [parish]."⁶⁷ The first evangelist employed by the Presbytery was the Rev. J. M. Hall in 1858.⁶⁸

The new Presbytery began with a few hardy men in a sparsely settled section of the state. They faced a great challenge with stout hearts. An example of the stamina which refused to stop at any obstacle is the Rev. John Tennent Balch, who in 1859 moved with "his numerous family" near Minden. A Tennessean, he was a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, to which he walked all the way from Greenville, Tennessee, to secure his education!⁶⁹ Balch assisted the Rev. Cyrus Harrington in erecting a church building at Rocky Mount in 1858 and 1859. This church, of which Herrington became pastor in 1859, is the mother church of Presbyterianism in Bossier Parish. The physical dimensions and characteristics of the edifice at Rocky Mount and the manner of its construction have been preserved and are of interest because they are rather typical of this period. It was a large frame building,

approximately eighty by one hundred and fifty feet. Slave labor was used in constructing the church, which was equipped with large balconies for the slaves, who worshipped with their masters. The building served for thirty years.⁷⁰

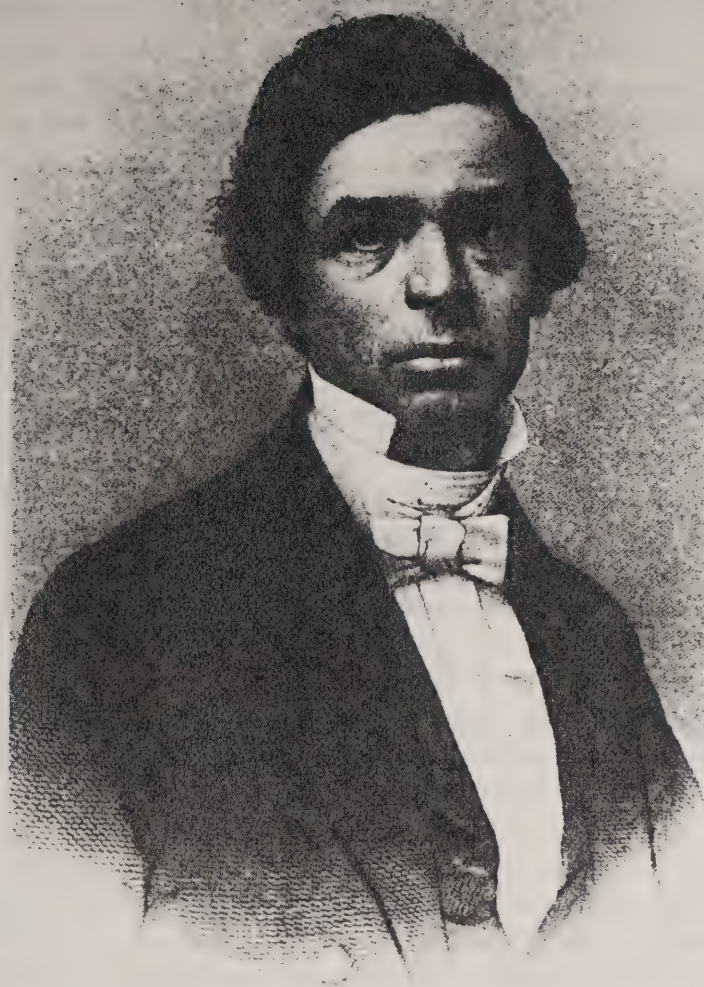
A curious and unique episode occurred in the Red River Presbytery on January 17, 1861, when the Synod of Mississippi met on a steamboat in the Red River at Shreveport! At least the evidence points in this direction and gives some basis for a widespread tradition that the synod once met on a boat. Owing to the circumstances under which the synod assembled, the *Minutes* for the evening of January 17 say that "the preaching of the opening sermon was dispensed with." When the synod adjourned, it did so to meet the next morning at 9 o'clock "in the Presbyterian Church." The peculiar "circumstances" as result of which the sermon was not delivered could refer to the fact that the Synod was assembled on a steamboat, and the assertion that "the Presbyterian Church" was to be the place for the morning meeting could mean that the Synod was meeting elsewhere the evening before, perhaps on a boat. There is another bit of evidence which implies this conclusion. The evening meeting on January 17 was attended by only one member from the Red River Presbytery, the Rev. Cyrus Harrington, in spite of the fact that it was held in Shreveport. Six members from that Presbytery attended the synod in the church the following morning. These facts suggest that the steamboat on which most members must have come to Shreveport for the meeting was also used by them as a hotel. Thus they were present for the evening meeting and the members from the Red River Presbytery, who were staying in their own homes, were not on hand until the next morning at the church.⁷¹

Louisiana Presbyterians and Tumultuous Times

WAR

ON July 9, 1861, a special meeting of the New Orleans Presbytery was called by several ministers, led by Dr. B. M. Palmer, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, "to consider the course pursued" by the General Assembly and "to take whatever action may be judged necessary."¹ Why were these Presbyterians concerned about "the course pursued" by the General Assembly? It was because the Spring Resolutions, adopted by that body in Philadelphia on May, 1861, declared that it was the "duty" of the churches under the care of the General Assembly "to promote and perpetuate the integrity" of the United States and "to strengthen and encourage the Federal government."² This was an ultimatum to the southern churches, which faced the alternative of staying in the General Assembly at the price of surrendering slavery or of disrupting the General Assembly by supporting it. Actually, the course of the church in the slaveholding states was clearly determined by the adoption of the Spring Resolutions. Fort Sumter had already been fired upon and President Lincoln's call for volunteers made. No battle had been fought but battle lines were being drawn and war was imminent. The disruption of the Presbyterian Church was inevitable.

The response of the New Orleans Presbytery was a studied statement of historic importance in the emerging contro-



Dr. Benjamin M. Palmer

versy. On July 10, 1861, the Presbytery stated, "[In view of] the unconstitutional, Erastian, tyrannical, and virtually ex-cinding act of the . . . General Assembly sitting at Philadelphia in May last, we do hereby, with a solemn protest against this act, declare in the fear of God our connection with the General Assembly of the [Old School] Presbyterian church . . . be dissolved."³ The Presbytery did not stop with a declaration concerning itself but called upon "each presbytery" in the slaveholding states "for itself and by its own sovereign power also" to dissolve its relationship with "the General Assembly" and "appoint commissioners to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America to sit in the City of Augusta, Georgia, on the fourth day of December, 1861."⁴ The New Orleans Presbytery was one of the first presbyteries in the slaveholding states to dissolve its connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and was active in promoting a separate southern church. The action of this Presbytery was widely publicized and furnished a pattern to the presbyteries generally.

In October 1861, the Mississippi Synod, of which Dr. B. M. Palmer was moderator, declared that "existing circumstances" made it necessary to "dissolve" relations with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.⁵ Nothing was said concerning the Spring Resolutions but it is clear they were in the background as a precipitating factor. Palmer was the dominating figure in this historic meeting of the Synod, at which the break with the General Assembly was declared, as he had been in the Presbytery of New Orleans.

Ten synods and forty-five presbyteries, including three from Louisiana, were represented by a little less than one

hundred people at the organization of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America at Augusta, Georgia on December 4, 1861. The central role which Dr. B. M. Palmer played in these proceedings is suggested by the fact that he was unanimously chosen to preach the opening sermon and elected moderator. The new church numbered 840 ministers and 72,000 communicants. Its existence was justified by the celebrated J. H. Thornwell, who, though ill, gave a penetrating address which brought together the grievances of Southern Presbyterians. The involvement of the church in a "political" issue by the Philadelphia Assembly in May, 1861, was cited first. This action, he said, was unconstitutional and created a situation in which delegates from the North and South could not meet in harmony. Furthermore, it was better to have a separate Southern Church free from controversy on the subject of slavery. As long as the church was "even partially under the control of those . . . hostile to slavery" it would be impossible to have "free and unimpeded access to the slave population." Reaching the crux of his argument, Thornwell declared: "This is too dear a price to be paid for nominal union." He then concluded with a defense of slavery.⁶ This address succinctly summarized the position of the entire Southern Presbyterian Church. Dr. B. M. Palmer's remarks on the subject were, of course, in complete conformity with Thornwell's sentiments. Both men believed in "the purely spiritual character of the Church,"⁷ which with reference to the issue that precipitated the division among Presbyterians meant a church which preserved its neutrality on the issue of slavery. The effect of this view was to put the Presbyterian Church in the South solidly on the side of the status quo and thus of slavery and the slavocracy.

Toward the end of April, 1862, Commodore David G. Farragut's fleet fought its way past the Confederate batteries and captured the Crescent City. On May 1, General B. F. Butler led his Federal forces into New Orleans. The divisive effect which this had upon the Presbytery of New Orleans is reflected in the *Minutes* of that body for December 19, 1862, which speak of "the present troubled state of the country which prevents communication with brethren who live outside of the city." "Very few" ministers were left in New Orleans.⁸ That part of the Presbytery outside of the city met several times during the Civil War. Meetings were held at Amite City in the Helena Church, April 15, 1863, and at Summit, Mississippi a year later. On March 9, 1864, that part of the New Orleans Presbytery which was confined to the city dissolved its connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the Confederate States of America and became an independent Presbytery.⁹ In April, the Presbytery spoke of the "hopeful prospects" which had obtained two years before when there were "twenty-four or more" ministers and the churches were in a "flourishing" condition and lamented that of these only five ministers remained—one had died—and the churches were weak and discouraged.

Dr. Palmer was not in New Orleans when it was occupied by the Union Army. Early in April, 1862, he left the city to visit the army of General Albert Sidney Johnston and to attend the meeting of the General Assembly, scheduled to meet in Memphis, Tennessee. Just before the battle of Shiloh, according to a tradition, he delivered a moving address, astride a horse, to a portion of Johnston's army. A Confederate officer stated that Palmer's "services were

worth more to the Rebel cause than a soldiery of ten thousand men."¹⁰

Palmer found it impossible to get to Montgomery, Alabama, to which the meeting of the General Assembly was moved from Memphis due to fighting near that city, and spent several weeks in Tennessee speaking in behalf of the Confederacy. By this time, General Butler had occupied New Orleans. It was evident that Palmer, regarded rightly as an arch enemy by Union men, should not return home. His family was sent to him and in August he established his home in Columbia, South Carolina, with Mrs. George Howe, his wife's mother. From this time until July 17, 1865, when he resumed his pulpit in New Orleans, he labored unstintedly in behalf of the Church and the Confederacy. He continued to preach at every opportunity and did some teaching at Columbia Seminary. On September 17, 1862, Palmer delivered a eulogy upon Dr. Thornwell, remarks which formed the nucleus of a biography of this fallen leader of the Southern Church, entitled *The Life and Letters of John Henley Thornwell, D.D., LL.D.*, which was published in 1875. To the General Assembly convened in Charlotte, North Carolina in 1864, he reported that he had preached in all the brigades of one corps of the Army of Tennessee and observed "the greatness of the work God was carrying on" among the troops. He still harbored live hopes that victory would come to the Confederacy. But soon these hopes were shattered and he was forced to flee from Columbia, which, with his "private papers, books, and household effects," was burned by the Union forces. Returning to the devastated city, he labored to bind up the wounds of war and resumed his spiritual ministrations in the Church until the close of the conflict.¹¹

On October 13, 1865, following the end of the war the previous April, the New Orleans Presbytery resumed meetings of the entire body which had not been held since April 1862. The two sets of minutes from the two parts of the Presbytery, which met separately during the war, were both accepted "without raising any question of precedence between the two."¹² The three and one-half years during which the Presbytery was divided by the fortunes of war were described as years of "separation and peculiar trials." Gratitude was expressed that "with few exceptions" houses of worship were retained by their respective congregations, permitting the immediate resumption of worship when hostilities ceased. Notice was taken of the fact that ministers of the Presbytery had served as chaplains in the Confederate Army. A "hopeful condition" prevailed in the "united, earnest, and spiritual" congregations, and attendance at church services showed "an encouraging increase."¹³

The Louisiana Presbytery, made up of eleven ministers and seventeen churches, dissolved its connection with the Presbyterian Church in the United States at Jackson, Louisiana, on October 16, 1861. The *Minutes* for that meeting record at random several matters which cast light upon conditions in the Presbytery: "Congregations have generally diminished in consequence of enlistments in the war." "The instructions of servants is regularly attended to, and with special success upon some plantations." "Contributions to benevolent operations of the church have fallen off in amount in consequence of the claims of our troops for outfits, which have been met with great liberality, and in consequence of the arrest of cotton sales."¹⁴

In March, 1862, "the desolating and widespread influence of the war" was noted in the *Minutes* of the Presbytery,¹⁵

and a year later the situation in the church was dark—"very little" was reported. This meeting, held at Comite Church on March 18, 1863, was the last until after the war, when the Presbytery met at Baton Rouge on November 8, 1865. Divine worship was observed in "most" of the churches in 1864-1865. The spirit of the people was set forth in a sentence of the records of the meeting at the Comite Church: "We have much over which to mourn," as indeed they did, but this was a temporary mood soon overpassed with concern for the gigantic task of rebuilding the Church.¹⁶

The Red River Presbytery ended its relationship with the Presbyterian Church in the United States at Minden on July 18, 1861.¹⁷ It is clear that this Presbytery and the Louisiana Presbytery followed the leadership of the New Orleans Presbytery and Dr. B. M. Palmer in severing ecclesiastical ties with the General Assembly. What happened in North Louisiana in the war years is another version of the same dreary story which occurred elsewhere in the state. An interesting sidelight on this story is the minute book of the Red River Presbytery for this period, purchased in 1863, when, due to the scarcity of paper because of the war, a curious looking tablet of poor quality paper—with sheets joined at the top rather than the side—was all that was available. Readers were assured in a sentence written in pencil that it was "the most suitable record book obtainable."¹⁸

On March 21, 1863, the Presbytery "heartily" approved the proclamation of Jefferson Davis to observe Friday the 27th "as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer to Almighty God" for His "gracious interposition" in behalf of the Confederate forces. But the tide of war was turning against the South.¹⁹ An anticipated meeting of the Presbytery

at the Mt. Zion Church on September 20, 1863, was not held "on account of the invasion of this section . . . by the Yankee Army."²⁰ It was not until September 25, 1865, that the Presbytery met again, after a lapse of more than two years. At this meeting, the Presbytery acknowledged "the hand of God . . . in the overthrow of the Confederate government and in the establishment of the authority of the United States" and recommended that the General Assembly should rename the Southern Church "in strict conformity with the facts of history."²¹ This view was shared by Presbyterians generally in the South and the Presbyterian Church of the Confederate States of America was named the Presbyterian Church in the United States at the 1866 General Assembly.

The consequences of the defeat of the Confederate States were more devastating to the Red River Presbytery than the two sister presbyteries in Louisiana. The economy of North Louisiana was based primarily on the plantation system and the churches relied largely upon the plantation owners for support. The *Minutes* for September 20, 1866, speak of the "diminished fortunes and even poverty of those who were once wealthy" and lament the "absence or death of many . . . ministers."²²

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

A DECLARATION of the Presbytery of New Orleans in 1866 is typical of the condition and outlook of the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana shortly after the war. The churches were "for the most part self-sustaining" but hampered by debts on houses of worship only partly paid for at the outbreak of hostilities. When the war ended "everything was

dark and discouraging [and] . . . the hearts of many had yielded to despondency, so fatal to Christian effort." In the "general overthrow of private fortunes [some] were in danger of being swept away by a spirit of worldliness in the superhuman efforts made to escape insolvency and utter ruin." Deep concern was expressed for the "young and gay" who, in the view of the framers of the presbyterial statement, "threatened to take reprisals upon the sorrows of the past and to flee from the gloom of the present by plunging recklessly into every form of earthly pleasure." But conditions were improving and there was a growing inclination on the part of the people in the churches "to accept their lot from the hand of God"²³—a recurring belief reflected in the *Minutes* of the three presbyteries. Gratitude was expressed that the congregations were as large as before the war.²⁴

The secular spirit of the post-war period is reflected equally in the *Minutes* of the Louisiana and Red River Presbyteries. In 1866, four problems were taken up by the Louisiana Presbytery. Dancing by members of the church was frowned upon and those who persisted in "this amusement" faced the possibility of dismissal. "Persistent neglect of worship and the ordinances" of the church might result in "eventual suspension." People who moved from one community to another were admonished to affiliate with the church at their new residence. Failure to do this within two years could result in dismissal. "Open disregard for vows" could have the consequence of a public trial and possible exclusion.²⁵

At the same meeting, the Presbytery deplored the "general eagerness to recuperate lost fortunes," which bordered on "avarice" but recognized that there was a legitimate anxiety



First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, Louisiana

for "the supply of daily recurring wants . . . by many." The plight of the ministers was particularly severe. "Our ministers," the report continued, "are not supported in a single congregation within our bounds." Many clergymen were forced to secure "secular labor."²⁶

In September, 1868, the Louisiana Presbytery reported "dead and dying churches, scattered people, and wasted fortunes. . . ."²⁷ Churches in the Louisiana Presbytery at this time were Oak Grove, Unity, Liberty, Bethany, Comite, Clinton, Jackson, Plaquemine, Baton Rouge, and Woodville. The following year, the Presbytery declared that not a single minister received "a competent income."²⁸ A little later, the records of the Presbytery reveal that "not more than one, if one," minister of this Presbytery received "adequate support in his labor." The situation was so desperate financially that not a single minister received such "support as would enable him to lay aside sufficient money for his own burial."²⁹ At this same time, the Presbytery of New Orleans asked the General Assembly to reconsider its action of listing salaries of ministers. Such "public exposition of the estate of individual churches" was deemed unwise and embarrassing to many.³⁰

In 1870, it was stated at the meeting of the Louisiana Presbytery that there was "not a solitary" Presbyterian minister in the territory of the Presbytery west of the Mississippi River.³¹ Three years later, the situation had not improved, for Evangelist R. E. Patterson reported in 1873 that he found the "field . . . on the west side of the river very destitute." Only one sermon had been preached in two years in the Atchafalaya area, which had been "almost abandoned by all denominations."³² The Red River Presbytery recorded its "sad need of young ministers."³³

These conditions were the result of the war and were thus temporary. The 1870's were years of discouragement but also years of reassessment and new beginnings. For example, the Napoleon Avenue Presbyterian Church in New Orleans completed a new edifice in 1872, except for "plaster on its walls and pews on its floor." The ladies then took the problem in hand and through "a series of entertainments" in the church—"music, vocal and instrumental, recitations, and tableaux, with refreshments"—helped to complete the church and provide needed facilities. People were invited to visit the church, which could be reached on "a pleasant ride [which afforded] the enjoyment of fresh suburban air."³⁴ That was when Napoleon Avenue was in the suburbs!

The Rev. Benjamin B. Wayne served as "stated supply" of this church from the beginning, a position he retained until his tragic death in 1879, which was the consequence of an accident sustained while swimming in Lake Pontchartrain at Mandeville. In order to supplement his modest income Wayne taught in the public schools of the city and was principal of McDonogh No. 10 when he died. He counted Paul Tulane, the generous philanthropist, among his close friends.

Wayne's successor was the Rev. R. Q. Mallard, who also served as editor of *The Southwestern Presbyterian* for twelve years. He was elected moderator of the General Assembly in 1896. But his main concern was the church, which, under his leadership, moved into "the front ranks of the Presbyterian Churches of the city," according to Georgia Mallard Seago, who wrote a history of the church for the celebration of its Diamond Jubilee in 1936.³⁵

During the pastorate of Dr. Mallard, a young man of nineteen years of age, Dunbar H. Ogden, who in 1930 was

to become pastor of the Napoleon Avenue Church, spoke at prayer meeting in the church in the interest of Chamberlain Hunt Academy. He talked on the subject, "How to bring up a child." After the service, the young preacher went over to the manse with Dr. Mallard, who commended him for his excellent discourse and then, with a twinkle in his eyes, remarked, "But you were preaching to old maids and widows."³⁶

A picture of the situation in South Louisiana in 1871 has been preserved by the Rev. J. A. McConnell, an evangelist, who lived at Thibodaux. He listed and described briefly the following "preaching points": Brashaer City, now Morgan City, with "thirteen members waiting to be organized" into a Presbyterian Church; Centerville on Bayou Teche, where a church of thirty-five members (four elders) without a building had been organized; Franklin, "no organization"; Jeanerette, "four members, no organization"; New Iberia, the "largest and most flourishing town on the Teche" River, where there were six Presbyterians and only a Roman Catholic and a Methodist Church; Abbeville, "five or six members [and] no Protestant Church." He also preached at Vermillionville, now Lafayette, and Opelousas, where there was a small Presbyterian Church.³⁷ The Presbyterians in Brashaer City who were "waiting to be organized" into a church effected an organization in 1872, under the leadership of the Rev. Charles S. Dodd. On March 14, 1876, it became the First Presbyterian Church of Morgan City.³⁸ The church at Opelousas, which belonged to the Louisiana Presbytery, requested that it be made a part of the New Orleans Presbytery in 1871 but the request was denied.³⁹

POST-WAR GROWTH

THERE were many problems but there were also many heroic souls, ministers and laymen, for whom the problems were occasions which elicited courage and labor, not despair and inertia. The unnamed pastor-elect at Plaquemine was such a person. Excerpts from a letter he wrote in 1872⁴⁰ give a glimpse of his first trip to Grosse Tete, near Plaquemine, where he was also pastor. Multiply what he recorded many times and some impression is gained of the labors of obscure leaders in this period who were determined that the Presbyterian witness should be maintained and extended in outlying areas of difficult access.

He left Plaquemine at dawn on a Saturday morning for Grosse Tete to officiate at a communion service. Down Bayou Plaquemine in a skiff propelled by two men with oars, he and two others proceeded on a journey which required twelve hours to cover twenty-six miles. Reaching a point on Bayou Grosse Tete four miles from the church, he disembarked and spent the night with a friend. On Sunday morning, he and his host traveled to the church by horse and buggy. They found "a goodly number" gathered for worship and two young ladies were received into full communion. These were the first fruits of his new charge and he was much encouraged as he faced the missionary challenge of the Plaquemine-Grosse Tete field. The two churches persisted until 1911, when the Grosse Tete Church was dissolved and its members joined the church at Plaquemine.⁴¹

The history of the Presbyterian Church in South Louisiana in this period must give a large place to the Rev. Charles M. Atkinson, who in 1878 accepted the position of Evangelist in the Teche Country under the direction of the New

Orleans Presbytery. He lived first at Morgan City and was remembered particularly by the people there for his devotion to them during the yellow fever epidemic of 1879-1880. He lost two of his children during this terrible scourge but strove valiantly through it all to give comfort and courage to the suffering and stricken people.

In 1880, he moved to Thibodaux, where for eight years he served as pastor of the church there. Eight years later he transferred to Centerville and remained there until his death in 1906. During the twenty-eight years of his ministry in South Louisiana he preached at Morgan City, Thibodaux, Houma, Berwick and Centerville. He and the Rev. G. E. Chandler were instrumental in organizing Presbyterian churches in Jeanerette,⁴² called Calvary, in 1880, and New Iberia on July 14, 1895.⁴³ Until June 15, 1901, when the Rev. J. N. Blackburn arrived at Houma, Atkinson was the only Presbyterian minister between Lafayette and New Orleans. In spite of advancing age and poor eyesight, which grew steadily worse, he continued to supply the churches at Centerville, Berwick and Morgan City until 1906, when at the age of eighty-seven he concluded his earthly pilgrimage.⁴⁴ In his honor, the church at Morgan City was named the Atkinson Memorial Presbyterian Church in 1913.

Illustrative of another type of endeavor in this period of rebuilding is a report given in 1878 by the Committee of Colportage to the Presbytery of Red River.⁴⁵ The Committee was granted the authority to "select and purchase" books and tracts to sell and give away, provided they were publications approved by the General Assembly. The Committee was given the power to employ colporteurs to visit the homes of the people and dispose of literature by gift or sale. It was also the function of these itinerant propa-

gandists to advertise such church papers as the *Earnest Worker*, *Children's Friend*, and *The Southwestern Presbyterian*. Each colporteur was furnished a horse, a "suitable wagon," and other "things necessary" for his work at a cost not to exceed \$250.00. His salary was set at \$30.00 per month and essential expenses, subject to increase "if the business should justify." He was expected to devote at least six months of the year traveling in the territory of the Red River Presbytery. The rest of the time could be spent anywhere in Louisiana.

It is difficult today to recapture the important role which colporteurs played in strengthening and extending the Gospel at this time. These men, poorly paid, making their way with wagons filled with books, magazines, and tracts, were an important feature of the missionary strategy of the Church after the Civil War. Innumerable materials published in the nineteenth century, especially in the last three decades of it, now buried in archives and accumulating dust are reminders of a significant segment of the missionary task.

The most significant factor in the growth of the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana after the Civil War was the rapid expansion of the railroads. The first region affected was served by the New Orleans Presbytery. In 1875, for example, the Evangelistic Committee of that Presbytery indicated that missionary efforts were being expended along three recently completed railroad lines operating from the Crescent City. This "outlying territory" so difficult to "overtake with the Gospel" was open in a new way to Presbyterian extension due to its easier accessibility. The three directions were southwest, northeast, and roughly north.⁴⁶ A year later the "city missionary" reported that he worked with the seamen in the Bethel Society and along "three lines radiating

from the city," presumably in the directions mentioned above. Each line stretched "one hundred or more miles" and was "dotted with feeble churches unable to maintain the Gospel." He was concerned because many communities were entirely devoid of Presbyterian churches.⁴⁷

But the situation was improving. This is reflected in a report made to the New Orleans Presbytery in 1878: "Outside the city [of New Orleans], our field embraces the territory along the Jackson and Great Northern Railroad, which has six churches supplied by an evangelist; the country along the Mobile and New Orleans Railroad has three churches, two mission stations, and the services of two ministers; and the country along the Morgan Railroad and Bayou Teche, which has the services of an evangelist; there are also stations on, or near, Lake Pontchartrain, which have occasional services from pastors in the city."⁴⁸

The six churches to the northeast of New Orleans on the Jackson and Northern Railroad were: Amite City (Helena Church), twenty-four members; Tangipahoa, Mississippi, seven members; Summit, Mississippi (Pisgah), twenty-five members; Magnolia, Mississippi, fifteen members; McComb City, Mississippi, ten members; Osyka, Mississippi, twenty-two members. The total membership of these churches, all except one in the state of Mississippi, was one hundred and three. All belonged to the New Orleans Presbytery. The six churches were served by an evangelist, the Rev. J. C. Graham.

The three churches on the Mobile and New Orleans Railroad were at Pass Christian, Mississippi, fifty-one members, of which the Rev. W. C. Clark was pastor; Hansboro, Mississippi, nineteen members, and Moss Point, Mississippi,

forty-two members, both of which were served by the Rev. I. J. Bingham as stated supply. There were also two mission stations at Biloxi and Bay St. Louis. The total membership of these churches was one hundred and twelve. All were in Mississippi and all belonged to the New Orleans Presbytery.

Southeast of New Orleans on the Morgan Railroad and along Bayou Teche were four churches: Thibodaux, thirty-two members; Houma, six members; Centerville, forty-two members; and Morgan City—known also as Brashaer—sixty-six members. Three “stations” on or near Lake Pontchartrain were Madisonville, Mandeville, and Covington, for which the Rev. C. M. Atkinson served as evangelist.⁴⁹ The churches at Madisonville and Covington which had been founded in the late 1840’s were disorganized by the Civil War and ceased to function except for occasional preaching until the 1890’s.

In 1878, the total membership of the churches in the New Orleans Presbytery outside the city was three hundred and sixty-one. There were 2,245 members in the remaining nine churches in New Orleans. The total membership of all the churches in the Presbytery was just above twenty-six hundred. There were two evangelists in the city—the Rev. A. J. Witherspoon and the Rev. J. G. Gruber.⁵⁰

In the 1880’s and early 1890’s, the records of the presbyteries reflect a growing awareness of the impact of expanding railroad transportation upon the church. The growth of railroads would “change the centers of population” and should, therefore, elicit “special efforts to commence work” in the new settlements thus created. For example, when Vienna, the Lincoln Parish seat, was left four miles from the Vicksburg, Shreveport, and Pacific Railroad, the town of Ruston was founded at the point where the railroad inter-

Belfast 15th June
1868

This is to certify that Mr.
John Barkley son of the
rev. in communion with the
Presbyterian Congregation of
Fisharwick Place—that he
was baptized by me—that
as he grew in childhood to
boyhood he attended our
Sabbath schools—that he
subsequently was a member
of my class for visitation in
prospect of the Lord's Supper—

Louis Morgan
Minister

Belfast 15th June
1868

This is to certify that Mr. John Barkley was born of parents in communion with the Presbyterian Congregation of Fisharwick Place—that he was baptized by me—that as he grew in childhood to boyhood he attended our Sabbath schools—that he subsequently was a member of my class for visitation in prospect of the Lord's Supper—that he was submitted in due time to the membership of the church in the observance of that ordinance—that he continued to observe it so long as he remained in this country—that his life was always in harmony with his Christian profession—and that he is hereby commended to the fellowship of the Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, where he now resides.

LOUIS MORGAN
Minister

sected the old dirt road linking Vienna and Vernon. In October of 1884, the Presbyterian Church at Ruston was organized through the efforts of the Rev. James A. McLees, an evangelist for the Red River Presbytery.⁵³

The missionary opportunity which confronted the church as a result of the shifting population must have prompted some to consider the use of ministers without professional education because the Louisiana Presbytery declared its "disapproval of any steps to lower the educational standards of the ministry" and insisted that the times demanded not less but "more thorough mental discipline than any former time. . . ."⁵⁴ The New Orleans Presbytery also opposed "any change" which would lower "the qualifications for entrance into the Gospel ministry" and made its position known to the General Assembly.⁵⁵

The railroads were not an unmixed blessing. The Presbytery of Louisiana declared that Sunday excursions were "a great evil" not only because they lured people away from public worship but also because of the bad effect which the "excursionists" had upon the communities in which they spent the day.⁵⁶ Riding on trains on Sunday by ministers going to and from preaching appointments could not be justified, the Presbytery stated, "on the grounds of necessity or mercy."⁵⁷

The same warnings against the failure to observe the "Sabbath" properly came from the other presbyteries. "Flagrant desecration" of the day by excursions on the railroads, "by parades, picnics, and parties of pleasure, [and by] traversing the city streets and filling the parks" was frowned upon by the New Orleans Presbytery in 1877. Serious consequences from such behavior were sure for God would not permit such desecration indefinitely, the Presbytery declared,

and the people were reminded of Israel's punishment for profanation of the sacred day.⁵⁸ The Red River Presbytery in 1878 registered its disapproval of using Sunday as a time for "visiting."⁵⁹ Concern was manifested by the New Orleans Presbytery six years later about the laxity with which the "Sabbath" would be treated during the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans.⁶⁰

It is not surprising that the Synod of Mississippi made an extensive report on the Sabbath, which was published in the December 8, 1881 issue of *The Southwestern Presbyterian*. Dr. B. M. Palmer was chairman of the committee which framed the statement: "The increasing evil of Sabbath desecration" could be arrested by recognizing that the church had "no power to abate in the least degree the rigor of the Divine law," by recognizing that the only limitation of "the law of the Sabbath" permitted by Jesus is found "in works of necessity and mercy," and by "the exercise of church discipline." The intent of this statement was to bring the growing influence of the Presbyterian Church to bear on "secular authorities" through "her members as citizens of the Commonwealth" in order to secure "by wise legislation . . . a national Sabbath."⁶¹

Exactly ten years later, in 1891, Dr. Palmer was waging a sustained campaign against the Louisiana Lottery Company. On June 25, he spoke in the Grand Opera House in New Orleans following an introduction by Colonel William P. Johnston, Chancellor of Tulane University, who described Palmer as "the first citizen of New Orleans."⁶² His opening words were: "I lay the indictment against the Lottery Company of Louisiana that it is essentially an immoral institution whose business and avowed aim is to propagate gambling throughout the state and throughout the country."⁶³ He

regarded lottery as not merely a nuisance but a crime and because he believed it was a crime he held that it was incompatible not merely with the safety but with the very being of the state. This thesis he advanced with eloquence and logic. Its effect was literally tremendous. The lottery was doomed and Palmer played a major role in its collapse.

The continuing intellectual vitality of this remarkable man is evidenced by an invitation extended to him to join the faculty of the Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, in 1892, when he was seventy-four years of age. He was offered the chair of Pastoral Theology, which he declined. This was the last of many efforts to persuade Palmer to leave his beloved church and city.

In 1898, the city fathers, responding to a widespread sentiment of New Orleanians of every creed, named that part of Henry Clay Avenue which lies east of St. Charles Avenue for the veteran minister and citizen, "Palmer Avenue."

THE SOUTHWESTERN PRESBYTERIAN— HENRY MARTYN SMITH

It required great courage to begin *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, a weekly synodical newspaper, whose first issue appeared in New Orleans on February 25, 1869.⁶⁴ *The True Witness*, a paper published under the editorship of the Rev. R. McInnis, was suspended during the Civil War and not reissued at its close. This prompted the Board of Trustees of Presbyterian Publications of the Synod of Mississippi, organized January 22, 1852, to establish *The Southwestern Presbyterian*. The editor, Dr. Henry Martyn Smith, pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church in New Orleans since March 22, 1857, was well aware of the problems confronting

the project. "We are not ignorant of the difficulty and perils connected with a new newspaper enterprise," Smith said. His trepidations about the venture are easy to understand. The war was only four years past and "the tragic era" had just begun. But Smith's faith was more formidable than his fears. "The end in view," as he put it, was worth "all the risks."⁶⁵ The success of the enterprise was assured by the distinguished character of the Board of Trustees, which was made up of nine of the leading Presbyterians in Louisiana: Editor H. M. Smith, B. M. Palmer, T. R. Markham, E. S. Keep, Moses Greenwood, David Hadden, W. C. Black, H. T. Bartlett, and Frederick Stringer.

The first editorial in *The Southwestern Presbyterian* bore the unlikely caption of "Lazy Elders." The editor admitted it was a strange beginning to speak critically of the lay leadership of the Church but made it quite clear that a discussion of "lazy elders," of whom he felt there were too many, was "nothing at all compared with some things" he expected to say when he and his readers got better acquainted!⁶⁶ It would be hardly accurate to say that this brief editorial was typical of the man, either in terms of outlook or interest, but it does suggest a certain bluntness and also a touch of gentleness and wit which marked his work.

Smith was a Pennsylvanian who, after finishing college in his home state and starting to study at the Alleghany Theological Seminary, went south to Columbia, South Carolina, where he completed his divinity studies at the seminary there. One of his instructors was Dr. B. M. Palmer, who taught at Columbia Seminary from 1853 to 1856. In the autumn of the latter year, Dr. Palmer accepted the invitation to become pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New

Orleans and prevailed upon Smith to go to New Orleans to occupy the pulpit of the First Church until he should arrive in December. At the expiration of this period, Smith became pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church in the Crescent City, his only pastorate, which he served for thirty years and ten months. Ill health forced him to retire from the church, then on Royal Street facing Washington Square, in 1888. Until that time he bore with grace and distinction the double responsibility of the pastorate and editorship of *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, which he finally relinquished in 1891. His resignation was reluctantly accepted by the Synod of Mississippi on November 11, 1891 and his name appeared for the last time as editor of the paper the next day. He died less than three years later. He was a leading figure in Louisiana Presbyterianism in the tumultuous times that followed the Civil War. His facile pen and rugged courage were known not only in the community in which he lived and labored but also throughout the territory of the General Assembly, of which he was elected moderator in 1873.⁶⁷

Nineteenth Century Education

EARLY EDUCATION ENTERPRISES AND LEADERS

PRESBYTERIANS in Louisiana were concerned about education from the beginning. The Rev. Timothy Flint organized a school in Covington in 1823.¹ The enterprise apparently did not survive and, the following year, Flint and his family moved to Alexandria, where he assumed charge of a "seminary," founded perhaps by "the Rev. Mr. Hull."² Whether Hull was the Rev. James T. Hull of Georgia, a licentiate of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, who was ordained to the Episcopal priesthood in 1816 and was rector of Christ Church in New Orleans when Larned arrived in 1818 is not clear. The rector established a Protestant school in New Orleans, which was afterwards carried on by his daughter, Miss Sara Hull. This was not a Presbyterian school, though it has been so designated. It was probably the first Protestant school established in New Orleans.

A Presbyterian school was organized at Pine Grove, near Covington, called Fellenburg Institute by Joseph F. C. Friley in 1837. Elder Alfred Hennen of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans was a patron of this institution.

Joseph A. Maybin, who became an elder in the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans in 1828, was a leader in educational enterprises all his life. His granddaughter, Miss Mary W. Maybin, has preserved an account of Maybin's leadership in the inauguration of the public school movement in New Orleans³ and of his close association with Paul

Tulane and John McDonogh, to both of whom, according to Miss Maybin, he "gave advice when requested to do so . . . as to how to invest their money . . . for the education of the youth of the city of New Orleans."⁴ Thus Maybin, the father of the public schools in the Crescent City, Tulane, whose benefactions of more than a million dollars launched the university which bears his name, and McDonogh, who gave generously to the support of many public schools in the city, which were named for him, were all Presbyterians. To these three should be added Miss Sophie B. Wright, founder and principal of the Home Institute for girls, who was a devoted member of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church of New Orleans.⁵

OAKLAND COLLEGE

THE first collegiate school with which Louisiana Presbyterians were allied was Oakland College organized by a group in the Mississippi Presbytery and located near Rodney, Mississippi in 1830. The Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain, who had accompanied the Rev. Sylvester Larned to New Orleans in the winter of 1817-18, was the first president.⁶

Chamberlain, a member of the first graduating class at Princeton Theological Seminary and a personal friend of Dr. Archibald Alexander and Dr. Samuel Miller, pioneer professors there, was sent into the deep south by the Board of Domestic Missions of the General Assembly. After reaching the Crescent City, he made his way to Mobile, Alabama, where, according to Chamberlain's biographer, "no Protestant minister previous to his visit had ever preached."⁷ While in Mobile, he used his tall silk hat as a pulpit desk on which to rest his sermon notes.⁸

He returned to Pennsylvania in the summer of 1818 and took charge of an academy. From 1822 to 1826, he was president of Centre College in Danville, Kentucky. In December 1826, he returned to Louisiana and assumed the presidency of the College of Louisiana at Jackson,⁹ organized the previous year. While residing in Jackson, he was instrumental in organizing the Presbyterian Church there on March 2, 1828.¹⁰ He resigned from this position in 1829 because of certain "restrictions" which the presidency of this school imposed upon his functions as a minister and in view of his hope to be associated with a Presbyterian college.

Chamberlain envisaged a school "for pious youth in the Southwest . . . under the care and supervision of the Presbyterian Church [which would provide] a native ministry" for the area. This plan was presented to the Presbytery of Mississippi at Baton Rouge in April, 1829. A Committee was appointed, the project was thoroughly considered, and plans were made for a second meeting at Bethel Church, Claiborne County, Mississippi on January 14, 1830. This meeting, which lasted six days, was attended by "gentlemen from different parts of the country,"¹¹ including representatives from the parishes of East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, and West Feliciana in Louisiana¹² and from the counties of Claiborne, Amite, Wilkinson, Adams, Jefferson, Warren, Hinds, and Madison in Mississippi. The Committee, of which the Rev. Benjamin Chase was chairman, made a report stressing the urgent need for an educational institution in the presbytery. The great distance ministerial candidates had to travel to secure an education, which discouraged some potential Presbyterian preachers, and the tendency of young men who did go to remain in the section of the country where they went to school after graduation were the major



Silliman College, Clinton, Louisiana

considerations which led to the establishment of the institution. This is reflected in the following statement by the Committee: "We are educating *two young men* more than a thousand miles distant from us, who, *we hope*, will return at some future day and afford us their labors."¹³ In other words, the Presbytery of Mississippi was not producing enough young ministers—only two were in school in 1830—and the few who traveled great distances to secure an education seldom returned to the Presbytery to work upon the completion of their studies. But it was not only education for the ministry that was contemplated. This is indicated in a resolution presented to the group by the Committee. It read:

Resolved, that it is expedient to establish and endow an Institution of Learning now within our bounds, which, when complete, shall embrace the usual branches of science and literature taught in the Colleges of our country, together with a Preparatory English and Grammar School, and a Theological Professorship, or Seminary.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and \$12,500 contributed by the group. Search for a suitable site was begun immediately. Certain conditions were laid down in determining the location for the proposed school—first, "an elevated and healthy situation, in a moral neighborhood . . . free from tippling houses and other temptations to vice," second, a place easily accessible by water and thus near the Mississippi River but free from unhealthy "swamp atmosphere" and, third, a site whose location would inspire liberal contributions from those who lived nearby.¹⁴

In April, 1830, the Presbytery of Mississippi, embracing at that time all Presbyterian churches in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas, selected a site in Claiborne County,

Mississippi, adopted a constitution, appointed a Board of Trustees, and asked Chamberlain to assume the presidency.¹⁵

On May 14, 1830, the College opened in a "loghouse near James Creek with three pupils," who accompanied Chamberlain from Jackson, Louisiana. Seven more students from the same place came a week later. Thus the first ten students were from the state of Louisiana.

Chamberlain himself "felled the first tree . . . to make room for the college edifices."¹⁶ The college was located five miles east of Rodney, Mississippi, which was on the Mississippi River, on a magnificent—and isolated—place in Claiborne County. According to the Rev. J. R. Hutchinson, who, besides his labors in Louisiana as pastor and teacher, was on the faculty of the college from 1842 to 1854, the school was located on this "retired spot" because "at that time no town or city in the southwest was deemed sufficiently healthy or sufficiently moral to be the seat of a college."¹⁷

During the summer of 1830, Robert Cochran presented the Trustees with a deed to a two hundred and fifty acre tract of woodland, chiefly oak, where the school was located and for which it was later named. Six cottages were constructed in 1830. Foundations of the main building of the college, a brick structure—102 feet by 65 feet—were laid in 1838. This edifice, which is still standing, when it was completed "afforded a spacious chapel, prayer hall, recitation, lecture library rooms, and one for philosophical and chemical apparatus besides an observatory on the cupola for astronomical apparatus."¹⁸ In 1852, J. R. Hutchinson said the campus contained "about thirty cottages for the occupancy of the pupils, residences for the president and professors, two handsome halls for the literary societies (with libraries attached), a college library of upwards of four

thousand volumes, a philosophical, chemical, and astronomical apparatus, which cost nearly \$4,000, and a main college [building] of brick. . . ."¹⁹

In November 1839, control of the college was transferred from the Presbytery to the Synod of Mississippi, which appointed a Board of Trustees composed of twelve men, ministers and laymen, who lived near the college. The Board was increased in size shortly thereafter to fifteen, dispersed throughout the bounds of the Synod from New Orleans to Wahalak in east-central Mississippi. However, the school remained largely dependent upon its original friends and supporters.²⁰ Nevertheless, this transfer meant a resumption of official connection between Oakland College and Presbyterians in Louisiana, a connection which had been terminated with the organization of the Amite Presbytery in 1834.

At the end of the first session in March, 1831, there were sixty-five pupils in the school, of whom seven had collegiate standing. Later that winter, a charter was granted the school by the Legislature of Mississippi and on February 4, 1832, the name Oakland College was given to the institution by the Presbytery. In 1833, the first college commencement south of Tennessee was held and the recipient of a degree of Bachelor of Arts, James M. Smylie, was probably the first native Mississippian to receive a college degree in his own state.²¹

An address Chamberlain gave in 1845 set forth in succinct fashion the formidable problems the school faced in the early years. "We have had our troubles and made our mistakes," he said, "and if any man should desire to know them, let him go into a new country, where public sentiment is almost wholly against even making a trial, where the truly liberal have been discouraged from many failures already,

where the educated of other colleges and of other lands are generally disposed to sneer, and where the whole community seems ready to cry out on the first symptom of faltering or the first ground of complaint.”²² It is evident that the school encountered opposition in the local community as well as from those attached to established schools in America and abroad, who found the frontier college near Rodney a rather amusing and ineffectual educational effort without academic standing. It is to the everlasting credit of Chamberlain and his colleagues that they refused to succumb to these manifold discouragements and set in motion impulses which gave strength and continuity to the Presbyterian witness in the deep south. Many later Presbyterian schools owe something—some of them much—to the work of these pioneers.

During Chamberlain’s administration of two decades “ten or twelve” young men were “qualified for the Gospel ministry” and “about one hundred more” were graduated and a “much larger number” qualified for “the learned professions” and other “useful occupations.” The Synod of Mississippi spoke in glowing terms of his leadership and, without question, absolved him of any misconduct in the tragic episode which resulted in his death on September 15, 1851.²³ Exactly what impelled Chamberlain’s murderer to do this dastardly deed is not known but it was related to the bitter political controversy then going on in Mississippi. Handbills were widely distributed charging the college faculty with favoring the Union Party over the States Rights Party. The issue was brought to a focus by a charge that a student had been expelled from the college for speaking in favor of “southern rights” in the rising controversy over slavery.²⁴ Chamberlain stated that the student named was neither

expelled nor suspended. A citizen of the community, who had no official connection with the college but who apparently for personal and political reasons became bitterly opposed to Chamberlain, stopped at the president's home, called him to the gate, denounced him, knocked him down, and stabbed him with a bowie knife. His death a few minutes afterward brought to an untimely end this pioneer Presbyterian educator. His assailant committed suicide two days later.²⁵

Deprived in this dread way of their gifted leader, who for twenty years had guided the affairs of the college, Oakland's friends might have surrendered to despair, especially in view of the fact that the financial condition of the institution was not encouraging. Many supporters of the school had recently suffered reverses of fortune. David Hunt, who had managed to escape the economic recession into which many were drawn, literally saved the school with a gift of \$13,000 and a loan of about the same amount. Hunt was approached by the Rev. Benjamin Chase at this critical juncture in the life of the college and in the interview which followed Hunt declared, "Enemies may kill some of its friends but Oakland College must live."²⁶ And live it did through his generosity. His name and that of Chamberlain have been preserved in the Chamberlain-Hunt Academy at Port Gibson, Mississippi, the successor to Oakland College.

Chamberlain was succeeded by the Rev. R. L. Stanton, who came to the presidency of Oakland College from the Second Presbyterian Church in New Orleans. The most notable event in his brief administration was a campaign by the Trustees, assisted by David Hunt, as result of which the sum of \$50,000 was raised.²⁷

In 1854, the Rev. James Purviance, who had served as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Baton Rouge, succeeded Stanton. The six years of his incumbency were, in the quaint words of J. B. Stratton, "one of the palmiest periods"²⁸ in the history of the institution. Six commodious brick houses were built. Hunt contributed an additional \$50,000, making a total of more than \$100,000 this generous benefactor gave to Oakland College.²⁹ In 1859, when President Purviance was forced to resign because of declining health, the students presented to their retiring leader "a splendid gold-headed staff, costing \$120."³⁰

The Rev. W. L. Breckenridge assumed the presidency of the college in 1860. A campaign to raise \$200,000 was launched, \$35,000 of which had been procured when the Civil War came and swept it all away. The new president proved somewhat inept as an administrator and the school was in a state of confusion when it was closed due to the war. He occupied the president's house until the summer of 1863, when he was taken prisoner by a detachment of General Grant's army. After his release, he and his family returned to Kentucky.

Professor Joseph H. Calvin continued to preach at Bethel Church until Dr. Breckenridge's departure, after which he moved into the president's house and transferred his activities to the college chapel. After the war, he undertook to revive the college and was elected president *pro tem*. He strove mightily to revive the institution in the face of great odds. The New Orleans Presbytery noted the "embarrassed condition of Oakland College" in 1867.³¹

In 1869, the college was struggling for survival under Vice-President H. R. Morrison. There were four faculty members, including Morrison. Tuition, per term of twenty

weeks—except for ministerial candidates or sons of ministers, for whom there was no tuition—amounted to \$40.00 with a “contingent fee” of \$3.00. Board per month was \$18.00 and “washing” cost \$.50 per dozen pieces of clothing. It was stated that students “lodging in dormitories must furnish their own bed and furniture.” The above advertisement appeared in the first issue of *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, July 22, 1869.³²

The last president of the college, the Rev. G. S. Roadebusch served for four years in a hopeless cause and finally resigned to become principal of the Lafayette Square Parochial High School in New Orleans on September 13, 1871.³³ On December 8, 1871, the Synod of Mississippi regretfully reported the sale of the campus.³⁴ The report which the Board of Trustees of the college made to the Synod explains why the school was discontinued and the property sold:

The Board of Trustees of Oakland College respectfully report to the Synod that the College in the Preparatory Department and in the Freshmen and Sophomore classes was open during the past year [1870-1871]; that an efficient faculty was maintained, that the average number of students was less than fifty, and that at the expiration of the scholastic year, June 29, 1871, Rev. G. S. Roadebusch resigned his position and delivered up the college to the Executive Committee of the Board.

The Board would also add that in view of a large debt pressing against the college, and the apparent impossibility of reviving in its present location as an Education[al] Establishment, they have concluded to dispose by sale of the college grounds and buildings.³⁵

The campus and facilities of Oakland College were sold to the State of Mississippi, and a school for Negroes, Alcorn College—was opened. The proceeds from the sale, amount-

ing to "about \$24,000," after debts were paid, were kept by the Synod and formed the beginning of a fund for a new institution, Chamberlain-Hunt Academy, which was opened in 1879. It was named for Jeremiah Chamberlain and David Hunt and located just south of Port Gibson, Mississippi. The Academy has been owned and operated by the Synod of Mississippi from its inception. In the institution's catalogue, the school is described as the "successor to Oakland College" and a "military school for boys" and goes through the twelfth grade in high school.³⁶ Presbyterian churches in Louisiana shared in the support of the school until 1901, when the Synod of Louisiana was organized. Sporadic efforts were made by the Synod of Mississippi to enlist the Synod of Louisiana to join in the control of the school.³⁷ The Synod of Louisiana has never assumed an official role in the operation of the institution.

SEVERAL SCHOOLS

IN the 1850's, the Louisiana Presbytery shared in the operation of three schools, Silliman Institute at Clinton, Louisiana, a "Female Seminary" and a "Male Academy" at Plaquemine, Louisiana.

The school at Clinton, first known as East Feliciana Institute and later as Silliman College, was purchased by William Silliman at sheriff's sale in 1852. On November 21, 1856, Silliman donated one hundred and two shares of capital stock in the institution to the Presbytery of Louisiana.³⁸ This was the beginning of a relationship between the school and the Presbytery which eventually issued in the institution's coming under the complete control of the Presbytery on April 4, 1866, when Silliman, a ruling elder of the Comite

Church, tendered the school to the Presbytery³⁹ on the condition that it be used for educational purposes. Silliman's great generosity was not confined to the college he gave, for he also contributed a lot in Clinton on which a building was erected in 1857 to house the Presbyterian congregation, which had been organized April 5, 1856.⁴⁰

The Presbytery assumed control of the Plaquemine Female Seminary in the early 1850's. In 1856, the Board of Trustees of the school was instructed to take steps to secure a charter from the state.⁴¹ On March 17, 1859, the Presbytery accepted property in Plaquemine from Mrs. Ellen Tuttle and a building from Mrs. Ann M. Dickinson, forty-two by forty-four feet, "including airy and ample galleries on both sides" for a Male Academy.⁴²

One year later, a report on the "property in the hands of the presbytery" gives a picture of the condition of the three schools under its jurisdiction. The Female Seminary at Plaquemine, under the direction of C. S. Sellicse, had fifty-one pupils. A "commodious garden and playground" contiguous to the campus which had recently been given the school greatly improved the facilities. The Male Academy, just "beginning a hopeful career," had twenty-five pupils, of whom fifteen boarded at the school. The teacher and his family lived on the premises. Silliman Institute was under the supervision of the Rev. William Relyeer, a Baptist, assisted by two young ladies who were Presbyterians.

Following the Civil War, Silliman Female Collegiate Institute, as it was then known, was reopened. In 1872, A. G. Payne, the principal, reported an attendance of eighty pupils, one half of whom were boarding students.⁴³ However, the Female Seminary and Boys Academy at Plaquemine did not resume operations.⁴⁴ Sporadic efforts to revive the schools⁴⁵

were made but without success due to the prevalent poverty of the area and the "great prejudice" among the "Catholic population" toward the institutions.⁴⁶ The last abortive effort to revive a school at Plaquemine was made in 1910, when a "French school" was proposed. The property was eventually sold. Silliman Institute persisted due to a fairly substantial endowment. An enthusiastic graduate declared in 1881 that Silliman "stood among the foremost female colleges" in the nation.⁴⁷

In the 1890's, the Silliman Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, as it was described in the *Southwestern Presbyterian*, was advertised as an institution "unsurpassed for healthfulness, beauty of location and buildings, general appointments and standard of scholarship." The Mississippi Valley Railroad put the school within "four hours ride from New Orleans or Vicksburg." The advertisement was concluded cryptically as follows: "HILL COUNTRY. Pure Water. No Malaria. Home Comforts. Four Courses leading to Degrees. Best advantages in Music and Art. Terms Moderate."⁴⁸ The school, presided over in this period by George J. Ramsey, was still under the auspices of the Presbytery of Louisiana.

In 1854, the Rev. J. R. Hutchinson left the faculty of Oakland College and went to Covington, Louisiana, where he assumed charge of "a private seminary of learning" and preached there and at Madisonville. After three years, he moved to New Orleans and "purchased the property called the Brick House Station, on the Carrollton Railroad," where he established a "male high school." Until the fall of 1860, when he moved to Houston, Texas, he presided over this school and preached at the Carrollton and Prytania Street Churches.⁴⁹ The school, with the ambitious title of Belle

Grove Collegiate Institute, was "broken up" by the Civil War.⁵⁰

In the reconstruction period, when white and Negro children attended the same public schools, the Presbyterian churches in New Orleans made plans to operate "eight or ten" parochial schools, each of which would be under the care of a particular church. This movement was elicited by a "loss of confidence" in the public school system under the direction of "northern men"⁵¹ who were imposing a policy of racial integration. An editorial in *The Southwestern Presbyterian* in August, 1870, expressed the feelings of the vast majority of the people in the churches. It stated, "The public schools have passed away from the control of our citizens and are in foreign hands."⁵²

William O. Rogers, who "for many years" was superintendent of the public schools of the city, was selected to serve as superintendent of the Presbyterian parochial schools in New Orleans and also principal of the Sylvester Larned Institute "for the thorough and systematic education of young ladies." The school, covering four years, provided instruction "in branches usually taught in advanced high schools and female colleges." Lectures by Presbyterian clergymen were featured but the school was not designed to promote sectarian doctrines. The purpose was to inculcate "the highest mental and moral culture." It opened in September, 1870, in the session rooms of the First Presbyterian Church. Dr. B. M. Palmer was president of the Board of Directors.⁵³

At the beginning of the second session of the Institute in September, 1871, the school was moved to "elegant and commodious" property at 402 and 404 Carondelet Street, which was purchased for that purpose by the First Presby-

terian Church. A "boarding department" was also added at this time.⁵⁴ "About seventy scholars" were enrolled,⁵⁵ a few less than the first year.⁵⁶ The boarding department was discontinued temporarily in 1879 "due to the demands of the day school for enlarged accommodations."⁵⁷ The last advertisement of the school in *The Southwestern Presbyterian* appeared in the July 7, 1881, issue. The institution was described as a "high school . . . with primary and preparatory departments." Dr. B. M. Palmer, who in his distinguished career touched every facet of Presbyterian history, was still president of the Board of Directors and William O. Rogers was principal, a position held from the beginning.⁵⁸ The Sylvester Larned Institute functioned for eleven years. The other Presbyterian parochial schools were discontinued much sooner. When southern leadership was re-established in the schools and a policy of segregation of the races was resumed the need for these schools ceased.

The two German Presbyterian churches in New Orleans which established parochial schools immediately after their organization maintained them longer than the other Presbyterian schools. This was because all schools except these two were elicited by the policy of integration of the races in the public schools of the city and, therefore, came to an end with the end of that policy. "Religion and German" were featured in these two schools, one of which continued until 1891.⁵⁹

A high school was established by the Red River Presbytery at Oxford, Louisiana, ten miles southeast of Mansfield in DeSoto Parish in 1892. More than forty acres of land and one thousand dollars in cash were donated by Thomas Steele for this purpose.⁶⁰ A school building was constructed, G. L. Goodman was secured as principal, and thirty-five students

matriculated. Two students contemplated the Gospel ministry and it was hoped that the school would become "a nursery of the prophets."⁶¹

It was evident in 1893 that the school would find it difficult to survive. Each church in the Presbytery was asked to contribute twenty-five cents per member to the struggling institution. Strenuous efforts were expended to elicit interest in the school. The Board of Trustees issued the following statement in 1893: "Oxford is noted for its health and good water and its citizens are nearly all Christians. There is no saloon in ten miles of the place. . . . Board is cheap, the highest [costs] \$8.00 [per month], and [there is] plenty of room for ten boarders. . . ." ⁶² But all efforts to sustain the institution were in vain and it was closed shortly due to insufficient financial support. The property was eventually sold to the town of Oxford by the Presbytery. ⁶³

BEGINNINGS OF SOUTHWESTERN

IN 1869, two years before Oakland College was closed, Presbyterians in Louisiana and Mississippi were turning their minds to plans for a "Presbyterian University" to serve the entire southern church. Such a sentiment was expressed by the Presbytery of Red River⁶⁴ and in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*.⁶⁵ It was evident that the contemplated institution should be more centrally located and more easily accessible than Oakland College. The growing importance of railroads was a major factor in these plans. Furthermore, Rodney, Mississippi, near which Oakland College was located, was no longer an important community. Not only was Rodney not on any railroad line but it was clear that,

since the course of the Mississippi River was changing, it would soon cease to be on the river at all! A visit to this deserted village today with its historic Presbyterian Church, whose recently renovated brick sanctuary was erected in 1829, creates a stranger nostalgia for a day that is dead. One looks in vain for the river, which has changed its course and is miles away, and tries to imagine the once bustling harbor there, into which the river boats came laden with cargo and to load bales of cotton. It has been almost a century since young men disembarked there, many of them in elegant dress, on their way to Oakland College. Many students were sons of planters in the Mississippi Valley. Some who alighted from the boats on their way to school were neatly but poorly dressed and of a serious demeanor for they were candidates for the Presbyterian ministry. But all of this is only a memory; and so is Oakland College. That story has been told and now the story of the rise of another educational institution, Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville, Tennessee, which took the place of Oakland College for Louisiana Presbyterians, must be told. And the beginning of the story involves the background out of which Oakland's successor arose.

Before the Civil War, the Presbyterian Church in the mid and deep south sought to maintain one first-class college for each synod. Within the bounds of the four synods which now own and control Southwestern, the synods of Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, there were three Presbyterian Colleges and an academy, which was the nucleus of a college. Several hundred students attended these schools, whose assets amounted to more than one half million dollars. During the war and reconstruction period, these institutions were lost to the Church except for Stewart College at Clarks-

ville, Tennessee, "and little was left of that except the bare brick walls."⁶⁶

It was neither possible nor feasible to revive each pre-war institution and so the Presbyterians in what was then called the Southwest pooled their resources in a Plan of Union in 1873 and set out to establish one school to serve all the synods. At this juncture, Stewart College became available and was accepted by the synods in 1874. This school grew out of the Montgomery Masonic College, established in Clarksville, Tennessee in 1848. Seven years after its founding, the Synod of Nashville assumed control of the college and named it in honor of its president, Dr. W. M. Stewart.

When the school was accepted by the Synods in 1874, Dr. B. M. Palmer, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, was sought as chancellor of the "projected" Southwestern Presbyterian University. Palmer asked the Presbytery of New Orleans to dissolve the pastoral relationship between himself and his church so that he might accept this position, but the Presbytery declined to do so by a vote of ten to six.⁶⁷ Agitation nevertheless continued in an effort to secure Palmer for the chancellorship of the school, to which he had been unanimously elected by the Board of Directors. In October, 1874, the *Minutes* of the Presbytery indicate that the members of the First Presbyterian Church felt they were being "subjected to sore trial by the efforts made to sunder their relation to their beloved pastor."⁶⁸

Palmer contributed greatly to the school in its formative years, serving on its Board of Directors for more than two decades. No wonder he has been regarded as "the father of Southwestern"⁶⁹ and that Palmer Hall was erected in his honor.

In 1875, under the administration of Dr. J. B. Stewart, the college was incorporated as Southwestern Presbyterian University. At this stage it was owned and operated by the Synods of Nashville, Memphis, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, and Mississippi.⁷⁰ In 1879, the Rev. J. N. Waddel, a well known educator, who had formerly been head of the University of Mississippi, became chancellor,⁷¹ a position he held with distinction until failing health forced him to resign in 1887. Dr. B. M. Palmer, who had installed Waddel, wrote a moving tribute to him preserved in a letter.⁷² During Waddel's administration, the "scheme of instruction," as it was described in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, embraced eight "coordinate schools" and there were five "elective courses": the Master's, Bachelor's, Philosophy, Science, and Commercial. Apparently each student chose to specialize in one of these five areas. It was stressed that "the Bible course" was "a necessary part" of all programs pursued in the school. "Unusual prominence" was given to history and English literature "so as to exalt them to the rank of severe studies."⁷³ This latter emphasis foreshadowed the more recent stress at Southwestern upon the British approach to education.

The advertisement of Southwestern which appeared in the April 19, 1894, issue of the *Southwestern Presbyterian* stressed the divinity course, for which five professors were available. At this time fifteen states were represented in the University. "The location is healthful," the advertisement concluded, "the community excellent, and the moral and religious tone unrivalled. Terms reasonable." Dr. George Summey, who came to Louisiana in 1903, was chancellor.⁷⁴



Group of Delegates to the First Meeting of the Synod of Louisiana

Early History of the Synod of Louisiana

BEGINNINGS

SPORADIC agitation for the creation of a synod whose territory would embrace Presbyterian churches in Louisiana and extreme south Mississippi finally issued in the following action taken by the Synod of Mississippi at Hattiesburg on November 23, 1900: "The Synod of Mississippi respectfully overtures the General Assembly to divide the Synod of Mississippi into two synods, known as the Synods of Mississippi and Louisiana. . . . The former [synod would] embrace the presbyteries of Mississippi, Central Mississippi, Tombeckbee, Meridian, and Ethel as now constituted; the latter [synod would] embrace the presbyteries of New Orleans, Louisiana, and Red River as now constituted." It was further recommended that each synod should own "the synodical property" within its bounds and that the "new synod of Mississippi" should be the "successor to the records of the present Synod of Mississippi."¹

This proposed division of the Synod of Mississippi into two new synods was opposed by the Presbytery of New Orleans in an overture to the General Assembly meeting at Little Rock, Arkansas, May 16-25, 1901.² It was felt that the anticipated division would be "detrimental to the interests of Presbyterianism in both states" because it would put south Mississippi, which was "almost all home mission ground," into the weaker synod. On the other hand, it was contended that this same territory contained a few churches the loss of

which by transfer to the new Synod of Mississippi would "materially weaken" two of the three presbyteries in the proposed Synod of Louisiana. According to this argument, the Louisiana Synod would be weakened regardless of what disposition was made of churches in south Mississippi. The anticipated synod would be weakened if these churches were placed under its jurisdiction because many of them were so weak—and it would be weakened if these churches were not placed under its jurisdiction because some of the churches concerned were strong! It is evident that objections to the division by the New Orleans Presbytery were not carefully wrought out and sprang more from a feeling of opposition to change in the *status quo* than articulate and solid arguments against the division of the synod.

In the last analysis, opposition stemmed from the fear that the proposed division would remove ten ministers and sixteen churches from the New Orleans presbytery and two ministers and five churches from the Louisiana Presbytery. The protest then stressed the "complicated" character of the case, which historically does not seem complicated at all, and the reasonable contention that the presbyteries in Louisiana should "at least" have had an opportunity to consider the matter. Furthermore, it was pointed out that the proposed division had not originated in a "general demand from the churches."³ The protest from the New Orleans Presbytery was signed by J. H. Nall, R. Q. Mallard, and H. Ginder, the last of whom was a commissioner at the General Assembly.

In spite of opposition to a division of the Mississippi Synod by the New Orleans Presbytery, the General Assembly authorized such a division on May 24, 1901 and indicated that the new synods should "follow state lines" rather than

presbyterial lines as proposed in the recommendation of the Synod of Mississippi. Actually, the Committee on Bills and Overtures of the General Assembly recommended that action on the matter be delayed. But a substitute recommendation was adopted that the division should be effected. The decision was preceded by vigorous debate in the General Assembly, much of it irrelevant and some of it acrimonious. The Rev. J. B. Hutton of Jackson, Mississippi pointed out that only the New Orleans Presbytery had objected to the division when it was first proposed. He further declared that the New Orleans Presbytery had "failed to cooperate with the synod in its home mission work."

The Rev. J. C. Barr of the Lafayette Church in New Orleans, later a controversial figure in the New Orleans Presbytery, replied that Hutton's contention was wrong. He pointed out that the New Orleans Presbytery had given ten per cent of its collections to the home mission work of the Synod and spent \$2,000 per year in Mississippi.⁴ He then spoke of the "deadening influence of the Roman Catholicism" in south Louisiana and thus "the relief" afforded to those who attended synodical meetings in "the model towns" of Mississippi! Then he declared with obvious feeling, "If you divide the synod, what will you have? A synod with only thirty active ministers, a synod in the same position as that of Florida, which cannot get a quorum, a synod hardly the size of a respectable presbytery."

Then, the Rev. J. S. Jones of Meridian, Mississippi offered his contribution to the controversy. The Presbytery of New Orleans, he declared, had "cultivate[d] its own little patch" and left Mississippi Presbyterians to take care of Red River and Louisiana Presbyteries. Furthermore, there was enough "destitution" in Louisiana, he believed, to occupy Presby-

terians in that state without concerning themselves with south Mississippi also. Elder Campbell got in the final blow when he cried impassionately that the New Orleans Presbytery asked for more time before dividing the synod that it might have more time to sleep! "Let us tell these brethren," he concluded, "to go to work!" With that irrelevant blast, the debate ended and the substitute motion was adopted by a "large majority."⁵

Decisions of the General Assembly bearing upon "property rights of the Synods of Mississippi and Louisiana" are of sufficient importance to quote:

1. Each synod shall own the synodical property situated within its bounds.
2. The Board of Trustees for Presbyterian Publications in New Orleans of the present Synod of Mississippi are instructed to make transfer of synodical property in accordance with the laws of the respective states of Louisiana and Mississippi.
3. The new synod of Mississippi is to be successor of the records of the present synod of Mississippi.
4. The funds that may remain in the treasury after the discharge of the present synod's obligations are to be divided between the new synods.
5. The division is to take effect November 19, 1901 at 7:30 p.m. New Synod of Mississippi [is to meet at] Natchez, Mississippi [at the] above time, [with] T. L. Haman [as presiding officer]. Synod of Louisiana [is also to meet at the] above time, [at the] First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans. J. H. Nall, D.D. (or oldest member present) [is] to preach and preside and organize the body.⁶

The third point in the above five deserves comment. A distinction was made here between the "new synod of Mississippi" and the "present Synod of Mississippi." The action

of the General Assembly thus created two new synods. Dr. George Summey found this fact intriguing and, concerning the two synods, he wrote, "The 'Miss Louisiana' and the new 'Miss Mississippi' were not 'daughter-mother' but 'twin-sisters' born at the demise of old 'mother' Mississippi. At least, Miss Mississippi experienced a 'second birth,' which sounds more ecclesiastical! Both synods were declared to be 'new' and both were organized with the same provisions [and] at exactly the same time." Continuing the same figure of speech, Dr. Summey concluded by saying, "The synod of Louisiana, therefore, as the twin-sister, is entitled to all the antecedents to which the other twin-sister is entitled."⁷ He believed that "everything antecedent in the two-state synod is as much antecedent to the Louisiana as the Mississippi Synod." Perhaps he made too much of certain words and implications in the decision of the General Assembly but whether or not he did is really immaterial. Whatever were the intentions of the Committee who framed the statement creating the two synods and whatever the logical implications of the decision, the fact remains that a historical understanding of the Synod of Louisiana requires a treatment of Presbyterian antecedents in Louisiana from the beginning and these antecedents in turn must be related to certain factors which impinged upon them. That is why a history of the Synod of Louisiana is an extension of the earlier history of Presbyterianism in Louisiana and that in turn is an extension of the background out of which it grew.

But this is to get ahead of the story. Since the digression was suggested by the directive of the General Assembly to divide the Mississippi Synod, it is proper to return to that point. The decision which divided the Synod was made in May, 1901. The following October, the Louisiana Presbytery

registered opposition to the division according to state lines and declined to transfer to the new Mississippi Synod churches in the counties of Wilkinson and Amite in Mississippi. The churches in question were Centerville, Gloster, Bethany, Liberty, Unity, and Woodville. The Presbytery recalled in a resolution to the General Assembly that the request for the division of the Synod of Mississippi had specified that it be made according to presbyterial and not state lines and expressed confidence that the General Assembly to meet in Jackson, Mississippi in 1902 would correct this error. Officers of the six churches in question in Mississippi concurred in this view and signed a protest against the decision of the General Assembly to remove these churches from the Presbytery of Louisiana.⁸

In accordance with the directive of the General Assembly, the initial meeting of the Synod of Louisiana was held at the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans on November 19-22, 1901. The moderator appointed by the General Assembly, the Rev. J. H. Nall of the Canal Street Church in New Orleans, preached a sermon, using Titus 2:14 as his text, cited the authority by which the new synod was convened, and offered a prayer. He then asked the stated clerks of the three presbyteries of the Synod—Louisiana, New Orleans, and Red River—to call the roll of their respective presbyteries.⁹ The following members were enrolled:

I. LOUISIANA PRESBYTERY

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Elders</i>	<i>Churches</i>
J. Y. Allison	T. B. Hutts	Crowley Church
George Fraser	D. W. Pipes	Clinton Church
F. W. Lewis	T. D. Norwood (2)	Comite Church
R. F. Patterson	C. A. Smith (2)	Baton Rouge Church
M. D. Shaw		
D. F. Wilkinson		
D. M. Hawthorne (2)		

II. NEW ORLEANS PRESBYTERY

B. M. Palmer	T. F. McMillan	First Church, N.O.
W. T. Palmer	John Veber	Third Church, N.O.
J. C. Barr	George Fuchs	Lafayette Church, N.O.
W. McF. Alexander	H. Ginder	Prytania St. Church, N.O.
J. H. Nall	William Franz	Canal Street Church, N.O.
J. W. Caldwell	S. D. Moody	Napoleon Ave. Church, N.O.
Louis Voss	R. J. Barr	Carrollton Church, N.O.
F. O. Koelle	E. F. Koelle	Second German, N.O.
C. Russo	James Sherrard	Bethel Church, N.O.
J. M. Williams	E. M. Stebbins	Abbeville Church
H. C. Arthur	G. W. Whitworth	Jeanerette Church
C. M. Atkinson		
H. W. Wallace		
E. J. Young (2)		
W. C. Lindsay (3)		
R. Q. Mallard (4)		

III. RED RIVER PRESBYTERY

V. B. Curry	Charles Schuler	Keachie Church
W. D. Spurlin	F. P. Stubbs	Monroe Church
Edward Mack	John S. Young	Shreveport, First Church
W. A. Zeigler	John Classell, Jr.	Red River Church
P. H. Hensley	H. N. Sherburn	Plain Dealing Church

(Note: A figure after a name denotes the day on which the member was enrolled.)

After the roll call, Dr. B. M. Palmer was elected moderator, the Rev. Louis Voss, temporary clerk, and the Rev. W. A. Zeigler, reading clerk. Thus, Dr. Palmer, nearing the end of a distinguished career terminated by his death on May 28, 1902, was granted a richly deserved honor by the new synod.¹⁰ His election to this post was inevitable. Who else but Palmer, whose manifold gifts had been lavishly expended in behalf of the Presbyterian Church for more than four decades in Louisiana, could have been considered for this position? It was fortunate indeed that he lived to see this day. If the formation of the new synod had been

delayed even as much as one year, this crowning honor could not have been granted because this saintly man, his eyesight failing, was accidentally struck by a street car on St. Charles Avenue in New Orleans on May 5, 1902, and died on May 25, a little more than six months after his election as moderator. Scholar, preacher, Christian statesman are some of the attributes which come to mind when his career is contemplated. His mighty powers were waning at the time of his death but he was still an active participant in the affairs of the church and community. His biographer, T. C. Johnson, regarded him as "the peer of the great . . . preachers and defenders of the faith of the ages"¹¹ when he laid down his labors at the end of a fruitful life.

A memorial service in honor of Dr. Palmer was held in the First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, Sunday evening, November 16, 1902. "A holy calm pervaded the church," filled with friends of the illustrious man whose funeral had been held on May 30. Dr. R. Q. Mallard, pastor of the Napoleon Avenue Presbyterian Church, presided and introduced Dr. Eugene Daniel of Lewisburg, West Virginia, who paid high tribute to his departed colleague, and Rabbi J. L. Leucht of Touro Synagogue, New Orleans, who spoke movingly of Palmer as "a friend of the Jews."¹²

Comment concerning the death of Dr. Palmer and the memorial service in honor of this Presbyterian leader has propelled the story by about one year beyond the initial meeting of the Synod of Louisiana, to which it is necessary now to return. It is evident in the record of the deliberations of the first meeting of the Synod of Louisiana that the objections which had been prominently registered prior to this meeting were quickly dissolving as the new body set about to organize itself. There was no longer opposition to the



Dr. J. N. Blackburn

division of the Mississippi Synod into two new synods, but only to the decision of the General Assembly which specified that the boundaries of the two synods should be according to state lines rather than presbyterial lines. This was opposed because it would remove twelve ministers and twenty-three churches from the New Orleans and Louisiana Presbyteries. Thus the character of the objection was changed from opposition to division of the Synod of Mississippi to opposition to division according to state lines.¹³ In other words, the Synod of Louisiana did not object to its own existence but only to the form of existence prescribed by the General Assembly! The synod did not wish to be confined within the state lines of Louisiana but wished to retain those churches in Mississippi which belonged to the New Orleans and Louisiana Presbyteries.

One year later, at the second annual meeting of the Synod in Shreveport, Louisiana, it was recognized that the formation of the Louisiana Synod had "served as a stimulus to all the churches and ministers" and had resulted in "greater activity along all lines of church work than ever before." Apparently the young synod had made an excellent start in financial contributions, concerning which it was said to be the "banner synod" in the entire General Assembly.¹⁴ Fears that the synod would be too small and too weak to function effectively were quickly banished.

A comparison between the statistics of the Synod in 1901 with those of 1902 seems to reflect unfavorably upon the New Orleans Presbytery because the number of churches in that Presbytery declined from forty-six in 1901 to thirty in 1902. The reason for this reduction is that in 1901 the New Orleans Presbytery, contrary to the directive of the General Assembly, counted sixteen churches in Mississippi which

belonged to the Presbyteries of Mississippi and Meridian. This matter was straightened out by the 1902 session of the Synod of Louisiana. As early as April, 1902, the New Orleans Presbytery "recognize[d] and assent[ed] to" the transfer of the churches in Mississippi, which were still on the roll of the Presbytery to the Synod of Mississippi. The churches which belonged to the Presbytery of Mississippi were Bogue Chitto, Summit, McComb City, Magnolia, and Osyka. The churches assigned to the Presbytery of Meridian were Moss Point, Scranton, Ocean Springs, Biloxi, Pass Christian, Hansboro, Gulfport, Poplarville, Purvis, Lumberton, and McNeill. Instead of the loss of sixteen churches, there was actually a gain of one church in the synod and plans were under way to organize another. It was recognized that "much territory" remained untouched by the Presbyterian witness, especially in southwest Louisiana "along the Texas and Pacific, the Watkins, and the Kansas City Southern Railroads," where many "new towns" were springing up with populations from five hundred to one thousand.¹⁵

The Synod of Louisiana, however, had not yet fully complied with the order of the General Assembly to divide the old Synod of Mississippi along state lines because the Louisiana Presbytery still claimed six churches in south Mississippi, which had been designated as members of the Synod of Mississippi. These six churches in Wilkinson and Amite counties, whose officers declared in October, 1901, that their churches wished to remain in the Louisiana Presbytery and thus in the Louisiana Synod,¹⁶ were not detached from the Louisiana Presbytery until 1909. This action was taken at the request of the churches in question.¹⁷ It was, therefore, not until 1909 that the Synod of Louisiana was composed exclusively of churches in the state of Louisiana. The Louisi-

ana Presbytery in session at Jackson, Louisiana, on March 31, 1909 passed a resolution accepting the action of the General Assembly transferring the Presbyterian churches in Amite and Wilkinson counties to the Presbytery of Mississippi.¹⁸ The churches transferred at this time were Liberty, Rose Hill, Centerville, Woodville, Hoyte Memorial, Unity, and Bethany.¹⁹ It should be remembered that the General Assembly ordered the transfer of these churches to the Presbytery of Mississippi in 1901, when the Synod of Louisiana was formed, but the order was not complied with due to the deep feeling on the part of the people in the churches in question that they formed a homogeneous community with the rest of the churches in the Louisiana Presbytery.

It should be added here that in 1904 the Presbytery of Louisiana requested in a resolution that the Synod of Louisiana establish a fourth Presbytery to be called the Presbytery of West Louisiana. The new Presbytery was to embrace the territory west of the Atchafalaya River²⁰ including the parishes of Avoylles, St. Landry, St. Martin, St. Mary, Iberia, Vermillion, Lafayette, Acadia, Cameron, Calcasieu, and Rapides. The committee of the Louisiana Synod "on readjustment of presbyterial boundaries" recommended in 1905 that no change be made in the lines of the three presbyteries in view of the possible transfer of Amite and Wilkinson counties in Mississippi from the Louisiana to the Mississippi Presbytery, which would reduce the geographic area of the Louisiana Presbytery. Furthermore, the Committee pointed out that railways were being planned which would bring the western part of the Louisiana Presbytery into a closer relationship with the remainder of the Presbytery.²¹ In view of the recommendation of this committee, it is not surprising

that the Synod did not approve the proposal made by the Louisiana Presbytery in 1904.

In the early years of the synod's history, there was considerable discussion concerning the possible formation of a "colored presbytery," as it was called, in Louisiana. At the 1902 meeting, a commission of five was appointed "to take charge of this matter" and to report back to the synod.²² The report of the commission the next year revealed that (1) work among Negroes in the Red River Presbytery had been "abandoned," except for two churches and two ministers on the Frierson Plantation; (2) only two organized Negro churches remained in the Louisiana Presbytery and the only minister was a member of the Bethel Presbytery of the Synod of Mississippi; (3) the Presbytery of New Orleans had only one church within its bounds, the Berean, whose pastor also belonged to the Bethel Presbytery. This church was organized by the New Orleans Presbytery in 1880. In view of the conditions, the committee indicated the inadvisability of trying to form a Negro Presbytery and recommended that no action be taken.²³

Thus there were only five Negro Presbyterian churches in the state and the future was gloomy. "Quiet indifference" concerning the Negro churches was "hardening into steady aversion and in some cases open opposition and hostility." It was recognized that work among the Negroes was never more "necessary" and never more "difficult." Nothing was done except to express the feeling that a strong Negro preacher was needed in this situation, but he was not procured.²⁴

The situation in 1904 was "about the same as usual," as it was stated with little enthusiasm in the *Minutes* of the synod. It should be recorded here that the Rev. L. L. Wells,

who came to the colored church at Baton Rouge early in that year, exerted himself unduly and died suddenly on October 3. The *Minutes* state that his death was brought on by his "zeal."²⁵ Obscure heroes of the faith, like Wells, should not be forgotten by the church in her admiration for those who are well known. He helped meet his expenses, which outran his meager salary of \$15.00 per month, by the sale of a horse!²⁶ Two Negro ministers in north Louisiana, the Rev. Edgar White and the Rev. Fortune Pierre, each received a salary of about \$20.00 per year!²⁷

By 1906, the work at Baton Rouge had been abandoned, a church building for Negroes had been completed at Jackson, and the two "struggling" churches in north Louisiana were barely maintained. The only encouraging feature was that four young men from the territory of the Louisiana Presbytery were attending Stillman Institute at Tuscaloosa, Alabama. This school for Negroes was commended to the interest and support of the synod.²⁸ In the *Minutes* for 1908, the last report of the committee on "colored evangelism" was made. The problems were too great for the concern and thus for the resources of the synod. The history of Negro work in the Synod of Louisiana in the early years is a disheartening story. The massive problems were simply too much in the face of widespread lethargy.

Negro ministers and churches in Louisiana remained on the rolls of the presbyteries within whose bounds they were located until they affiliated with the Central Presbytery of the Snedecor Memorial Synod in 1918. This later became the Presbytery of Louisiana-Mississippi. When the Snedecor Memorial Synod, to which the Presbytery belonged, was dissolved in 1952 the Presbytery of Louisiana-Mississippi was received into the Synod of Louisiana.²⁹ Six ministers from

this Presbytery were present at the meeting of the Louisiana Synod in 1952.³⁰

The Berean Church of the Presbytery of New Orleans was transferred to the Negro Presbytery in 1919.³¹ This Presbytery did not prosper and thus the Berean Church resumed its relationship with the New Orleans Presbytery in 1957.³² An added reason for this action was the fact that the Berean Presbyterian Church was the only Negro Presbyterian Church within the boundaries of the New Orleans Presbytery.

HOME MISSIONS

THE REV. J. N. Blackburn, a pioneer home missionary in the Synod of Louisiana, on his way to Houma and Thibodaux in south Louisiana, arrived in New Orleans on June 14, 1901, a recent graduate of Southwestern Presbyterian University, from which he had received his divinity degree. The youthful minister had an interview with the aged B. M. Palmer in his home. To Blackburn he said, "Go out there and stay."³³ And Blackburn, who planned to stay for three months prior to his anticipated entrance into Columbia Seminary for graduate study, went and stayed a lifetime. The conference with Dr. Palmer, which took longer than Blackburn anticipated, caused him to miss the early train in Algiers which would have taken him directly to Houma and, boarding a later train, he traveled to Morgan City and then back to Houma. The people gathered at the station to greet him were disappointed when he did not arrive on the early train directly from New Orleans. They reassembled later in the day hoping he would be on the train which came from New Orleans by way of Morgan City. When he arrived on that train, he was unrecognized and mistaken for a book agent! The group,

uninterested in purchasing books at that time of day at any rate, quickly dispersed except for one curious young lady who discovered that the young man who just stepped off the train was the new preacher who had come to minister at Houma and Thibodaux. She called the people back together to welcome him. He immediately settled down to the task of maintaining these two struggling churches until migration which was just beginning from the west would give them new financial and numerical strength.

Blackburn tells of his first visit to Thibodaux with a twinkle in his eyes and a smile on his face. The paper announcing his visit stated that "the Rev. Mr. Blockhead would preach." He discovered a large church building and eight to ten people. There were from twelve to twenty in the church at Houma. He says, "I have preached to more empty pews than any preacher in Louisiana." Be that as it may, Blackburn was anything but what the Thibodaux paper inadvertently said he was. He opened up several mission centers. What became the Bayou Blue Church was under the session of the Houma Church for several years. His missionary efforts were not confined to South Louisiana. For example, he was instrumental in the organization of the First Presbyterian Church at Natchitoches in North Louisiana on June 22, 1910. Thus, the Presbyterian students in this college community were provided a church home.

In 1947, members of the Synod stood "in recognition of his long and faithful service." He reminded the synod that "this was his retirement from the active ministry."³⁴ But Blackburn is a man who will work as long as there is work to be done that he can do. Ten years after his "retirement" this man of tenacity and vision was still living in Houma and laboring in south Louisiana as a supply minister and a

member of the Synod's Board of Publications. His career spans the entire history of the Synod of Louisiana. The immense contribution of this steady leader and his gifted wife to the progress of Presbyterianism and the cause of Jesus Christ in Louisiana is beyond the calculation of the historian. No opportunist was he, looking for a "larger field of usefulness" beyond his tasks, but one whose life has been quietly devoted to missionary service. For several years at the beginning of his ministry, he and the Rev. Charles M. Atkinson, who settled in the Teche country in 1878, were probably the only white non-Catholic clergymen in approximately one hundred square miles—from Centerville to New Orleans and Baton Rouge to the Gulf of Mexico.³⁵

On January 2, 1947, public officials of Houma, Louisiana, including Mayor Leon Gary, presented a citation to Dr. Blackburn "expressing the love and affection" of the community. It stated in part: "He brought to all who would listen the never-ending universal message of faith and hope and cheer. Through the passing years, he suffered with us in our sorrows and was happy in our joys. He never feigned approval when he could not freely grant it; he has been firm in the right as he saw it but has been tolerant of the views of others."³⁶

One of the last contributions which Dr. B. M. Palmer made to the Church was his "plea for home missions" in the January 30, 1902 issue of *The Southwestern Presbyterian*.³⁷ He and the home missions committee of the synod, of which he was chairman, pled for "concerted and unanimous effort" so that "whole sections" of Louisiana hitherto untouched by the Presbyterian witness might be reached. He spoke of this as the "principal work" of the new Synod. Six thousand dollars were needed, of which sixteen hundred

were expected from the Red River Presbytery, the same amount from the Louisiana Presbytery, and twenty-eight hundred dollars from the New Orleans Presbytery. Dr. Palmer, then past eighty-four years of age, called for an "active and aggressive" campaign!

Except for the early years of the Synod, when it kept an evangelist in the field, and except for a Church Building Fund which it conducted until 1926, the Synod of Louisiana has not been engaged directly in home mission work. The policy of the Executive Committee of the General Assembly to carry on its missionary enterprise through the presbyteries rather than the synods caused the Louisiana Synod to turn over to the constituent presbyteries direction of its home mission work. The Church Building Fund was started in the old Synod of Mississippi by the Rev. G. E. Chandler, for whom it was named. The "Chandler Fund," as it is called, has been under the control of the presbyteries since 1926.³⁸ The versatile Dr. George Summey served as chairman of the home missions committee of the New Orleans Presbytery from 1908 to 1928.

PUBLICATIONS

THE second day of the first meeting of the Synod of Louisiana began with a consideration by the body of *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, a weekly newspaper published in New Orleans, which for more than thirty years had served as the official organ of the Mississippi Synod. A committee of which Dr. W. McF. Alexander was chairman proposed that, since "*The Southwestern Presbyterian* and all other property" which pertained to it were within the bounds of the Synod of Louisiana, the paper be adopted as the official synodical

organ. The new Mississippi Synod was invited to accept the paper as its official publication "and to elect two corresponding editors and an associate editor." It was proposed that it should be edited jointly by the two synods and that its policies should be framed with both synods in mind.³⁹ The Louisiana Synod accepted this proposal and the Mississippi Synod this invitation.

The decision to create the Louisiana Synod also involved the declaration that it should own all synodical property within its boundaries. In response to the implications of this declaration, the Synod of Louisiana organized a corporation called "The Board of Trustees for Presbyterian Publications in New Orleans for the Synod of Louisiana . . . to accept, receive, and acquire title" to all property transferred to it by the Synod of Mississippi. As result of this action, property known as "lot no. 418 on the river side of Camp Street" between Natchez and Poydras Streets in New Orleans and the newspaper franchise of *The Southwestern Presbyterian* were transferred to the Board of Publications with the intention that the Board would later transfer the property received for the synod to whatever new Board the synod should create for perpetuation of the trust.⁴⁰ This was never done, probably because the initial plan by which the paper and the property were put under the control of the Board of Publications turned out to be an eminently satisfactory arrangement.

Dr. R. Q. Mallard, pastor of the Napoleon Avenue Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, who had succeeded Dr. Henry Martyn Smith as editor of *The Southwestern Presbyterian* in 1891, was retained as editor of the paper under the rearrangement necessitated by the formation of the Synod of Louisiana. The thirteen years of his editorship were years

of widening influence for the paper. In 1902, the Board of Publication for the Synod purchased *The Presbyterian Record of Texas*, which was united with *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, and the name of the paper became *The Southwestern Presbyterian and Presbyterian Record* on May 1. The synod of Texas appointed the Rev. E. P. Keach as one of the editors. At the same time, the Synod of Arkansas "commended" the paper but did not establish any formal relationship to it. It appeared that the paper would soon have as its "field of operation" the territory of five synods: Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana.⁴¹

In 1903, Dr. George Summey⁴² succeeded Dr. J. H. Nall as business manager of the paper. He came to New Orleans at this time from the Chancellorship of Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tennessee, to serve as stated supply of the Third Presbyterian Church in New Orleans and to work on the paper. Dr. Summey became editor of *The Southwestern Presbyterian* on March 16, 1904, succeeding the Rev. R. Q. Mallard, who died early in the month.⁴³ By this time the paper had reached its zenith and dark days were ahead. These were evident by 1908, when the Board of Publications reported that the paper "had managed to struggle along" but was having its "hardest year."⁴⁴ The publication was nearing the end of its history. The Camp Street property did not help financially because of a mortgage upon it of more than \$14,000. Furthermore the paper was not paying for itself. It was consolidated in 1909 with the *Southern Presbyterian* and the *Central Presbyterian* with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. The paper was named *Presbyterian of the South*, whose first issue appeared January 6, 1909. The editors said the purpose of the publication was "to maintain the principles and standards of the Presbyterian

Church in the United States [and] to do its part to preserve the integrity and doctrines of the Church," whose "historic attitude" had been "fully justified." The Southern Church, the editors declared, was "the purest type of Presbyterian in doctrine and polity in the world."⁴⁵ It, of course, carried news and devotional articles as well as polemical thrusts reminiscent of *The Southwestern Presbyterian*. It manifested a greater interest in theological matters, especially controversy, and exhibited a more self-conscious defense of the Southern Presbyterian Church than its predecessor.

Dr. Summey, who continued as editor of *The Southwestern Presbyterian* to the end of 1908, became one of the three "leading editors" of the consolidated paper. The status of the property held by the Board of Publications remained undisturbed.⁴⁶ The building on Camp Street later became a valuable asset.

In 1910, the Board sold the stock it held in *The Presbyterian of the South*, which was moved to Richmond, Virginia, following a futile effort to bring the paper to New Orleans. An office and an editor of the paper were retained in New Orleans. The Board also announced that the debt it owed had been reduced from \$14,525.37 to \$6,613.66 and believed it would be completely liquidated "in about three years."⁴⁷ The next few years witnessed a steady reduction of the debt and increased remuneration from rental of the property at 414-418 Camp Street. On October 1, 1912, it was leased for \$310 per month.⁴⁸

The first issue of *The Presbyterian of the South* published in Richmond was dated June 15, 1910. The last time Dr. Summey's name appeared as an editor was the week before in the last issue that emanated from Atlanta on June 8. He continued to contribute to the paper but the "managing editor"

was Thornton S. Wilson. For example, Summey wrote an article⁴⁹ containing a brief description of the Prytania Street Church in New Orleans, which appeared in the June 22, 1910 issue of the paper. With the article there is a picture of the church, built in 1901, and its distinguished pastor, Dr. W. McF. Alexander, who went to New Orleans in 1899. While it is true that New Orleans was retained as a major place from which news was sent, actually the center of the paper was Richmond from 1910 onward. "Southwestern Presbyterian" remained as a subsidiary part of the mast-head through 1919, then even that was dropped.

The best evidence that the Louisiana Synod did not sustain a vital relationship with *The Presbyterian of the South* beyond the period of its beginnings is the fact that the Board of Publications of the synod began to publish a weekly paper on April 19, 1916, called *The Presbyterian Journal*, of which Dr. Summey was editor. The publication was the servant of the synod, which owned and controlled it. In the first issue, it was noted that "the church skyline of New Orleans" had been changed materially by "the great storm" of September 29, 1915. Spires were left off when the churches were restored or rebuilt. Presbyterian churches involved were First, Memorial, Canal Street, Claiborne Avenue, and Bethel. Assurance was given that the Berean Presbyterian Church, which had been completely destroyed, would be rebuilt. The same issue indicated that through the effort of Dr. B. L. Price of Alexandria, the Presbyterian Church at Oakdale was organized on August 29, 1915.⁵⁰

A few issues later, the faithfulness of an obscure woman was recorded. "A familiar figure in the First Church of New Orleans for many years," the paper stated, "has been that of Miss Belle Grissam, an invalid, whose wheelchair

was always near the pulpit. She passed away last week and was buried from the church she loved."⁵¹ Let Miss Grissam be a symbol of that host of people of feeble strength but strong courage who have contributed quietly but greatly to the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana. Dr. W. McF. Alexander,⁵² pastor of the Prytania Street Presbyterian Church, who was moderator of the General Assembly in 1915-1916, and other leaders like him are rightly remembered by Louisiana Presbyterians in honor. It is fitting that Belle Grissam, frail but faithful, and other little-known folk like her should be remembered too.

The Presbyterian Journal was published until the issue of September 19, 1917, when it was discontinued by the Board of Publications due to declining revenues. The paper, including subscription fees and income from advertising, did not pay for itself. When the property on Camp Street was no longer productive of revenue due to war conditions, this removed a major source of income and made it mandatory to suspend publication of the paper or go into debt.⁵³

NEW ORLEANS HOSPITAL

IN connection with the coming centennial of the founding of Presbyterianism in Louisiana and the centenary of the birth of Dr. B. M. Palmer in 1918, the Synod of Louisiana, in 1917, adopted a resolution to plan for a celebration and to investigate the feasibility of founding a hospital in New Orleans under synodical control. A committee with power to act was appointed. It was recognized that at least \$250,000 would be required to begin the hospital project. Appeals to the churches for financial support of the proposed venture were ruled out. Unless the hospital could be made into a

“going institution,” the resolution declared that plans for its erection should be dropped.⁵⁴ This venture should not be confused with a private hospital, called the Presbyterian Hospital, which was organized prior to this time of which the Rev. J. C. Barr was president.

Strangely enough, neither proposal was realized. An influenza epidemic which swept over the state in 1918 and which was particularly severe in Baton Rouge, where the synod was scheduled to meet, precluded all plans of the synod, including the annual meeting, and also the centennial celebrations.⁵⁵ The year 1918 was the only time in which the annual scheduled meeting of the synod has not been held. The hospital project met the same fate as the proposed celebrations. There is not a single reference to a synodical hospital in subsequent minutes, which suggests that the proposal encountered insuperable financial difficulties and was quickly and quietly abandoned. The matter is not even mentioned in the *Minutes* for 1919!

THE J. C. BARR EPISODE

THE contention of the Rev. J. C. Barr, pastor of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, that the New Orleans Presbytery was failing to enforce regulations of the General Assembly concerning the proper role of women in the church produced a vigorous controversy, which erupted early in 1910. On April 20 of that year at the meeting of the presbytery of New Orleans, an overture from the Lafayette Church in New Orleans, of which the Rev. J. C. Barr was pastor, was read and referred to the Committee on Bills and Overtures. The Committee's report which recommended that the overture be sent to the General Assembly was laid

on the table by a vote of fourteen to three.⁵⁶ In the fall of that year, the Presbytery adopted a resolution touching the overture of the Lafayette Church by a vote of fourteen to one. This resolution in full is as follows:

“Whereas, the Session of the Lafayette Church, in an overture sent up to the General Assembly last May, and published in the daily press of New Orleans, asking, ‘Whether the Presbyterian Church in the United States had changed its historic position on the question of women being allowed to speak before mixed or promiscuous assemblies in the churches,’ charges the sister churches of our Presbytery (New Orleans) with having gradually receded from them ([members of] the Session of the Lafayette Church) in this matter until [the members of] the Session of the Lafayette Church now find themselves practically alone in trying to enforce the deliverances of the General Assembly on this question, and

“Whereas, the Session of the Lafayette Church in said overture furthermore charges the Presbytery of New Orleans with being officially aware of the conduct of some of its churches in endorsing the practice of women speaking in mixed assemblies in the churches,

“Therefore, the Presbytery of New Orleans hereby declares to the church and to the world at large that it has no knowledge, official or otherwise, of any of its churches being guilty of the above charge, that it does not believe it to be true, and that it is in full accord with the deliverances of our General Assembly on the woman question.”⁵⁷

Dr. Barr entered the first of his many protests in connection with this case. The resolution was adopted with only one negative vote, which must be assumed to have been his.

The session of the Lafayette Church sent a notice of its intention to complain to the Synod of Louisiana against the action of the Presbytery of New Orleans, by which a resolution was adopted rejecting the session's accusation that the Presbytery was not in accord with the view of the General Assembly concerning the role of women in the churches.⁵⁸ The matter was considered at the fall meeting of the Synod in Ruston. Dr. Barr represented the session of the Lafayette Church and Dr. W. McF. Alexander, pastor of the Prytania Street Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, represented the New Orleans Presbytery. Among the evidence submitted by Dr. Barr was the following: "programs of meetings of the Louisiana State Sunday School Association, showing that women were on these programs; such part of a letter from [the] Rev. J. C. Painter as goes to show that he heard a woman address a meeting in the First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans." The respondent, Dr. Alexander, submitted two signed statements by Professor J. W. Caldwell and Mrs. E. L. Roane, respectively, and an extract from the *Minutes* of the First Presbyterian Church, November 13, 1910. He also pointed out that the Louisiana State Sunday School Association had accepted the use of the Prytania Street Church for its meeting on conditions imposed by the session of that church. Barr spoke thirty-one minutes and Alexander responded in twenty-one. The roll was then called and the vote recorded as follows:

To sustain the complaint: Zeigler, Ault, N. M. Smith—3.

To sustain in part (that part in which it was charged that the Presbytery erred in not admitting to record the protest of the pastor of the Lafayette Church): Allison, Leith, J. K. Smith, McLain, O'Kelly, Walton—7.

Not to sustain: Price, Hunter, Summey, Booth, Caldwell, Voss, F. C. Talmage, D. M. Talmage, Hyland, Blackburn, Gregory, Newman, Tussell, Hardie, Battalora, Lyon, Frantz, Moody, Steere—19.

Not voting on account of disqualification: Wilkinson, Carpenter, Holt, Koells, Gregg, O'Neal—6.⁵⁹

Thus the complaint of the session of the Lafayette Church against the Presbytery of New Orleans was not sustained. The Synod elected Dr. W. McF. Alexander as its respondent before the General Assembly in the event the Session of the Lafayette Church should appeal the case to that body. It required no particular perception to realize that the case would be appealed. But the appeal was fruitless for the judicial committee of the General Assembly recommended that "the appeal be dismissed, as the record of the case shows on its face that the entire proceedings in the case are irregular and void." The report was adopted "almost unanimously."

The irregularity was the result of the character of the complaint made by the session, which on two counts failed to follow the Rules of Discipline. Dr. Alexander reported as follows to the Synod in 1912: "The Assembly thus fully sustained you in your refusal to sustain the complaint of the Session of the Lafayette Church against the Presbytery of New Orleans, and left in full force the action of the Presbytery of New Orleans originally complained against."⁶⁰

Still Barr, pastor of the church with the largest membership in the Presbytery, and his followers were not satisfied. He continued to raise technical questions relating to the case, such as alleged "irregularities in the printed minutes of the Synod of Louisiana."⁶¹ The issue from which all the

rest sprang became a minor point in a struggle between Barr and those who followed him on the one hand and the rest of the New Orleans Presbytery on the other.

A contributing factor in the controversy between Barr and the New Orleans Presbytery was the Presbyterian Hospital, a closed corporation of which Barr was president, and thus an institution for which the Presbytery refused to assume any official responsibility. The Presbytery "wished the hospital well" but took the position that it was "in no sense" under the Presbytery's jurisdiction. As Dr. Summey put it: "This caused Dr. Barr to be very much stirred up." Barr believed that "the Presbytery was fighting him and the hospital."⁶² Thus the estrangement between Barr and the Presbytery, precipitated by the issue of the role of women in Presbyterian churches, was rooted in earlier problems growing out of the relationship of Barr and the Presbytery to the unsuccessful hospital venture.

From 1912, when the complaint of the Lafayette Church was dismissed by the General Assembly, until 1914 when Barr and his followers sought to be separated from the New Orleans Presbytery, there was continued agitation on Barr's part in an effort to reverse the decisions which had gone against him.⁶³ When it became evident that all avenues of approach had been exhausted in his effort to sustain his position against the Presbytery of New Orleans, Barr assumed leadership of a movement seeking either to organize the Lafayette, Algiers, Gentilly Terrace, and Paradis Churches into a new Presbytery or have them transferred to the Presbytery of Louisiana. As a consequence, a special meeting of the synod was held in Baton Rouge on September 17, 1914. The moderator, the Rev. D. F. Wilkinson, described the issue as "an extraordinary emergency" and stated that

the purpose of the meeting was "to receive and consider petitions from certain ministers and churches in New Orleans . . . to be organized into a new Presbytery by dividing New Orleans Presbytery, if the way be clear [and] if the way be not clear for this, that these petitioning ministers and churches be transferred to Louisiana Presbytery, if the way be clear."⁶⁴

The first petition was declined by the Synod by a vote of thirty-eight to twelve. The synod thus refused to divide the Presbytery of New Orleans. The second petition was likewise declined, by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-three. The synod thus refused to transfer the four churches in question from the New Orleans to the Louisiana Presbytery.⁶⁵ This was the last meeting of the synod attended by Dr. Barr and two other ministers from New Orleans, the Rev. A. Oscar Browne and the Rev. W. H. Leith, who sympathized with his views. But Barr was not through yet!

In October 1914, Dr. Barr at his request was dismissed by the Presbytery of New Orleans to the Presbytery of Nashville and affiliated instead with the Presbytery of Jefferson in Texas of the Northern Presbyterian Church. Barr was then designated as a pastor-evangelist in New Orleans and south Louisiana. This curious action, by which Barr asked to be released to one Presbytery and promptly joined another, involved not only Dr. Barr and the Presbytery of Jefferson but also the Lafayette Church, which affiliated with the Jefferson Presbytery.

The matter was brought to the official attention of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., meeting at Rochester, New York in 1915. The General Assembly instructed the Executive Commission to investigate the issue. A committee of the Commission conferred several times in

the course of the next few months with a committee appointed by the Presbyterian Church, U. S., of which Dr. William McF. Alexander was chairman. The stated clerk of the Synod of Texas, the Rev. S. M. Templeton was heard fully by the committee of the Commission. A joint report was issued by the two committees and was approved by the General Assemblies, which had vested both groups with "power" to effect "a final settlement."⁶⁶

The following judgment was rendered as to the Rev. J. C. Barr: (1) he was declared legally a minister under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Jefferson of the Synod of Texas; (2) that his conduct as pastor-evangelist of the Presbytery of Jefferson in connection with churches under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of New Orleans "was not harmonious with comity agreements" between the two assemblies; (3) that he was no longer pastor of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church, Independent—his installation was declared *ultra vires*, "without authority of law, and that, so far as the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has to do therewith, is null and void" and that the Presbytery of Jefferson should remove from its roll the name of the Lafayette Church, New Orleans, Independent; (4) that the Presbytery of Jefferson should refrain "from receiving under its care churches under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., without conference, according to the rules of comity adopted by both bodies;" and (5) that in the judgment of the Commission, since the continuation of the Rev. J. C. Barr with the Lafayette Church would involve "misunderstanding and friction with the Presbytery of New Orleans," the Presbytery of Jefferson should assign him a new field of labor.⁶⁷

The action of both Barr in seeking entrance into the Jefferson Presbytery and of the Jefferson Presbytery in receiving him created a problem anticipated in the regulations of both the northern and southern churches. *The Book of Discipline, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.* states: "A presbytery, giving a certificate of dismission to a minister, licentiate, or candidate for licensure, shall specify the particular body to which he is recommended; and, if recommended to a presbytery, no other than the one designated, if existing, shall receive him."⁶⁸ *The Book of Church Order, Rules of Discipline, Presbyterian Church, U. S.* states: "When a presbytery shall dismiss a minister, probationer or candidate, the name of the presbytery to which he is dismissed shall be given in the certificate, and he shall remain under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery dismissing him until received by the other."⁶⁹

The stated clerk of the Jefferson Presbytery, the Rev. M. C. Johnson, in a letter to the Rev. J. W. Caldwell, Jr., stated that Dr. Barr was received "upon his affirmative answers to the constitutional questions required of ministers seeking admission . . . from other denominations"⁷⁰ and thus without the certificate normally required. Barr was treated as a minister from another denomination and it was on this basis that he was received by the Jefferson Presbytery.

Even this did not deflect Barr from his course. He was determined to continue as pastor of the church, to which he had come on February 27, 1898; and continue he did! The Presbytery of Jefferson failed to implement the judgment of the Executive Commission of the Northern Church with which, much to the dismay of the New Orleans Presbytery, he and his church continued to affiliate. Repeated resolutions by the committee on comity of the Synod of Louisiana directed to the Northern General Assembly requesting that

the Presbytery of Jefferson be required to enforce the judgment of the Executive Commission with reference to Barr and his church were unavailing.⁷¹ The subordinate courts in the case simply did not submit to the decisions of the Executive Commission of the General Assembly of the Northern Church. Thus Barr continued to serve as pastor of the Lafayette Church, which belonged to the Presbytery of Jefferson. The church retained possession of the property and records of the Lafayette Church. It later became the Westminster Presbyterian Church of the Northern Assembly and persists today.

Several other churches, led by pastors sympathetic with Barr's views, affiliated with the Presbytery of Jefferson and therefore the Northern General Assembly. The Rev. W. H. Leith, assistant pastor of the Lafayette Church during the controversy, who became pastor of the Paradis Church in 1914, and the Rev. A. O. Browne, a city missionary in New Orleans who became pastor of the Palmer Park Church in 1913 and served also as pastor of the Lakeview and Gentilly Terrace Churches, were followers of Barr. These three ministers, of whom Barr was the guiding spirit, laid the foundations for the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. in the New Orleans area.

In 1955, there were twelve Presbyterian churches in Louisiana affiliated with the Northern General Assembly. The total membership was 1,103.⁷² The following year, the Haynesville Church was received into the Red River Presbytery of the Louisiana Synod from the New Orleans Presbytery of the Northern Church.⁷³

It should be added that Dr. Barr was an indefatigable missionary. An example of this was the formation of a Presbyterian congregation near New Orleans in Kenner in

the fire station in 1900 by the Lafayette Presbyterian Church under Barr's leadership. He visited the congregation once per month, assisted by the Rev. J. M. Williams. A church, organized July 9, 1917, was initially affiliated with the Northern General Assembly but since 1920 has belonged to the New Orleans Presbytery of the Southern Church.⁷⁴ He was deeply involved in the early history of the Gretna Presbyterian Church, across the Mississippi River from New Orleans. This church, which grew out of services conducted by Barr in Gretna in the summer of 1897, when he was a divinity student, was organized on December 12, 1897. When Barr returned to New Orleans as pastor of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church in 1898, he led his congregation to assist the Gretna Church, which soon came under the care of the session of the Lafayette Church, an arrangement which lasted until 1914.⁷⁵

Dr. J. C. Barr was indeed a colorful and controversial figure, who generated fierce partisanship and a vast variety of views concerning his career. Surely all would agree that he was a gifted man with great energy and conviction.



Dr. Jasper K. Smith

Concern for Children and Women's Work

POYDRAS HOME

THIS institution for "indigent girls," founded in 1817 and supported still by funds derived from an endowment granted by Julian B. Poydras, a French Huguenot, has never been officially related to the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana but should be mentioned here because the Constitution of the Poydras Home requires that a "majority of the members of the governing body must be Presbyterians."¹ The Poydras Home is probably, next to Charity Hospital, the oldest charitable institution in New Orleans. Through the years, it has been operated on a non-sectarian basis under the auspices of "women of the Protestant faith." The close association with Presbyterians, required by the Constitution, is reflected in the early history of the institution. The Rev. Sylvester Larned, for example, minister of the Presbyterian congregation in the Crescent City, spoke at the first anniversary service on March 1, 1818 and an offering of \$230.32 was collected for the orphanage.²

Later that month a ship laden with German emigrants arrived in port, among whom were many orphan children who, in the words of the *Minutes* of the Home, "were discharged upon the levee, friendless, homeless, filthy, and starving; many of them sick and presenting the most pitiable condition."³ The problem posed by this unexpected event was presented by Larned in "an appeal [which] melted his

whole congregation into tears" and resulted in liberal contributions to the Poydras Home, into which some of the newly arrived children were placed immediately. Others found temporary refuge in homes of those "moved by the eloquent appeal of Mr. Larned."⁴ This event served to symbolize to the community the significance and necessity of such an institution. What Larned and his little group did was not forgotten for a resolution appears in the *Minutes* on December 20, 1820, stating "that in respect for the memory of Mr. Larned, the children wear a black crepe on their bonnets for three months."⁵ The loss of Larned, whose premature death from yellow fever in 1820 has been previously recorded, was deeply felt by the institution. His "great interest . . . in its welfare and his kind instruction" would "not speedily be replaced."⁶

As indicated previously, the Poydras Home has never sustained an official relationship to the Presbyterian Church. There has nevertheless always been a close unofficial tie with the Presbyterian community. As stated above, a majority of the members of the Board of Managers must be Presbyterians. Children from the Home attended the First Presbyterian Church on Lafayette Square until the institution was moved uptown, since which the girls have attended the Napoleon Avenue Presbyterian Church, now the Church of the Covenant.

THE PALMER ORPHANAGE

UNTIL 1956, the Palmer Orphanage at Columbus, Mississippi was owned and operated jointly by the Mississippi and Louisiana Synods. At that time the synods in question withdrew from the enterprise due to a dispute with the First

Presbyterian Church in Columbus, Mississippi, which had also shared in the operation of the orphanage and which refused to sever its relationship to the institution.

The Charter of incorporation for the orphanage, named for the celebrated B. M. Palmer of New Orleans, was secured March 12, 1895. It was begun as a local institution under Presbyterian auspices. The Rev. States Jacobs came to Columbus to assume charge of the enterprise as his first task after completing his divinity studies. The cornerstone of the first building was laid in 1898. It cost \$5,000.⁷

On January 2, 1903, the Charter was amended with the provision that the Synod of Mississippi would designate six members of the Board of Trustees and the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus would appoint three, all with staggering terms. From the very beginning the purpose of the orphanage has been to provide "support, maintenance, care, protection, rearing, and education of destitute white children one of whose parents was dead."⁸ In 1945, the charter, which must be renewed every fifty years, was modified to indicate that admissible children must not only be "destitute white children" but that they must also be "normal in body and mind and born in wedlock."⁹

At the 1905 meeting of the Synod of Louisiana, a letter was read from the stated clerk of the Mississippi Synod indicating that the charter of the Palmer Orphanage had been altered to provide for the election of a trustee by the Louisiana Synod.¹⁰ The Rev. J. H. Nall was elected as a trustee of the orphanage. This was the beginning of an official relationship between the Synod of Louisiana and the Palmer Orphanage, a relationship which persisted until 1956. The first report appearing in the *Minutes* of the synod concerning the orphanage was on November 16, 1906. Dr.

Nall addressed the synod on the subject of the orphanage, and the "prosperity" of the institution, under the guidance of the Rev. W. V. Frierson, who became superintendent in 1905, was gratefully recorded.¹¹

John F. Frierson, the son of Rev. W. V. Frierson, has described the orphanage when his father came. After speaking of the girls' dormitory with dining room and kitchen and a two story school building, he spoke of "oil lamps" and "pump water" and "rooms all heated by grates, with coal carried up in scuttles." Then he remembered "a large coal stove" in the dining room. "There were twenty-six children in the orphanage," he recalled, "when my parents took charge. The older boys stayed in the second story of the school building and the younger boys on the third floor of the girls' dormitory. The only other buildings were a smoke house and barns."¹²

A laundry installed in 1907, on which a balance of \$500 remained, and a general deficit of \$150 were pointed out to the synod. The need for a sustained campaign to keep the needs of the orphanage before the churches was recognized.¹³ "Greatly needed . . . improvements" were mentioned the following year. The synod appointed a permanent committee on the Palmer Orphanage consisting of the Rev. Jasper K. Smith from the Red River Presbytery, the Rev. D. F. Wilkinson from the Louisiana Presbytery, and the Rev. J. W. Caldwell from the New Orleans Presbytery.

Caldwell became the synod's trustee. Sixty-seven children were enrolled in 1909¹⁴ and a "pressing need" for a dairy, workshop, printing press, and infirmary was indicated. A debt of \$100 was noted and in 1912 "needed repairs" were mentioned.¹⁵ By 1915, this had increased to \$5,000.¹⁶ There was one trustee on the Board of the orphanage from the

synod until 1914, when a second trustee was added.¹⁷ J. F. Frierson succeeded his father as superintendent in 1919.

Until 1921, appeals were made by the synod in behalf of the orphanage without any specific plan for securing funds other than the intrinsic appeal of the enterprise itself. At that time, the stewardship committee of the synod directed the synod to grant the Palmer Orphanage 5% of the 40% assigned to home missions.¹⁸ But financial difficulties continued. In 1925, the debt had increased to \$6,000.

A survey of the orphanage under the auspices of the General Assembly's Committee on educational institutions in 1928 disclosed the following facts:

1. There were eighty-two children in the institution, eighteen from Louisiana, the largest number until that time.
2. The total income for the previous year amounted to \$24,442.33 and the expenses reached \$27,000. The total debt had reached \$10,000.
3. The cost of new buildings and repairs needed were estimated at \$75,000. An increase in the budget of \$12,720 was recommended.¹⁹

The economic recession in 1929 prevented the expansion suggested in the above report. The history of the orphanage through the 1930's can be given by saying that things went along without unusual incident with from seventy to eighty children in the institution and a debt of about \$10,000. The Rev. J. F. Frierson, the superintendent, without compensation from the synod, led the institution in a commendable fashion during this difficult decade. The Louisiana Synod contributed \$3,264.32 to the institution for the year ending November 1, 1934.²⁰ In 1935, the holdings of the orphanage were five buildings, one hundred and ten acres, a garden,

farm stock, and dairy cows.²¹ A birthday offering taken in the Sunday schools of the synod of one penny for each year of age on the Sunday nearest Thanksgiving and gifts of canned goods and clothing were of great help in this period. By 1937, the debt had reached \$12,000.²² The Synod of Louisiana sought to raise \$3,000 to help liquidate it. Apportionments to the presbyteries were—New Orleans Presbytery, \$1,150; Red River Presbytery, \$1,100; and Louisiana Presbytery, \$750.²³ By 1940, the debt was paid largely by the generous gifts of two women. The Red River Presbytery went beyond its quota, raising over \$1,200 but the New Orleans and Louisiana Presbyteries reached only “a very, very small” percentage of their quotas.²⁴

The financial condition of the institution remained solvent in the 1940's due mainly to several large gifts. In 1948, the Synod of Louisiana, at the suggestion of the Rev. W. T. Mansell from the Mississippi Synod, appointed a committee of seven to join a similar committee from the Mississippi Synod to meet with the Board of Trustees of the Orphanage “to study thoroughly the needs of the institution.”²⁵ This committee reported to the synods in joint session in 1949 at Memphis, Tennessee and plans were projected on the basis of the report. The Synod of Louisiana voted to accept one-third interest in the orphanage with the authority to appoint one-third of the trustees.²⁶ It was recognized that the Mississippi Synod sustained a “closer touch” with the institution than the Louisiana Synod “geographically and otherwise.”²⁷

In 1950, the Rev. W. C. Sistar succeeded J. F. Frierson as superintendent. The Friersons, father and then the son, had successively directed the institution since 1905. This made a total of forty-five years which these two men devoted

to the institution—W. V. Frierson, 1905-1919; J. F. Frierson, 1919-1950. When J. F. Frierson resigned in 1950, the Rev. Charles L. Smith of Ripley, Mississippi, president of the orphanage board, issued a statement commending the "noteworthy devotion [and] . . . unselfish spirit" of the superintendent.²⁸ He was not a "minister" in the common meaning of that term because he was not a member of the clergy but, though an attorney, he was as much a minister as any clergyman could be in terms of his devoted, unselfish service to helpless children. "Mr. John," as he was affectionately known by the children, closed the door of the superintendents' home for the last time in the fall of 1950, when he retired. He died in 1957.

In 1953, the Synod of Louisiana appointed several men to serve on a joint committee with representatives from the Synod of Mississippi and the First Presbyterian Church in Columbus, Mississippi "to study the needs of Palmer Orphanage with a view to developing an adequate program and facilities."²⁹ In 1954, a rather surprising development occurred, for which there was no warning in the synodical meeting the previous year, when plans were made to prosecute "an adequate program" for the institution. What is surprising is that the Synod of Louisiana appointed a committee "to study all possibilities of severing . . . affiliations with Palmer Orphanage" and of establishing a similar institution for the Synod of Louisiana or in "association with some other orphanage."³⁰

The explanation of this development was given by the committee, which made a detailed report at the 1955 meeting of the synod. The possibility of continuing to support the Palmer Orphanage, whose proper renovation would cost \$200,000 was considered by the committee but dropped

when it became evident that the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus, Mississippi, would not agree to relinquish the one-third control it held in the orphanage despite the requests of both the Louisiana and Mississippi Synods that it do so. Three other possible plans were suggested:

1. The first plan would involve an agreement with the Synod of Mississippi in establishing a child-care program in a new institution. The cost of this proposal was estimated at \$250,000.
2. The second alternative would be to set up a child-care program for the Synod of Louisiana alone at an estimated cost of \$160,000.
3. The third possibility suggested was to join the Synod of Arkansas in support of the Vera Lloyd Presbyterian Home for Children at Monticello, Arkansas. The expansion of the existing plant at this institution would cost about \$50,000. It was noted that this might develop into a project sponsored by the Mississippi Synod also.³¹

It should be added here that the Mississippi Synod declared its intention to sever its relationship with the Palmer Orphanage in June, 1955, with the hope that the transaction could be completed by January 1, 1957. The committee appointed by the Synod of Louisiana made the same recommendation at the 1955 synodical meeting and it was accepted a year later at Ruston. All rights of every kind and description "which the synod held in Palmer Orphanage were relinquished to the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus, Mississippi, except expenses of the committee and attorney's fee [which] should be paid out of funds of the orphanage." In the event of liquidation, it was further stated that "the Synods of Mississippi and Louisiana each should receive one-third of the proceeds of liquidation."³²

This brought to an end a relationship between the Palmer Orphanage and the Synod of Louisiana which had lasted five decades.

PRESBYTERIAN ORPHANAGE OF LOUISIANA

IN 1913, Dr. and Mrs. J. G. Gladney offered to the synod seventy acres of property in Minden, Louisiana as a site for a Presbyterian orphanage.³³ The offer was accepted by the synod's Board of Trustees, a committee of three was appointed to prepare a charter, and a plan was made to request the Synod of Arkansas to join in establishing and controlling the proposed orphanage,³⁴ a plan which did not materialize because of the official involvement of the synod at the time with an orphanage at Itasca, Texas.³⁵

A charter, which appears in the *Minutes* of the synod for 1915,³⁶ was adopted. The official name of the proposed institution was "The Presbyterian Orphanage of Louisiana." The Rev. Jasper K. Smith, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Shreveport, became president of the Board of Trustees, made up of ten members—two from the New Orleans Presbytery, two from the Louisiana Presbytery, and six from the Red River Presbytery.

The formal transfer of the property from the Board of Trustees of the synod to the Board of Trustees of the proposed orphanage was not made until 1920.³⁷ Due to the first World War and a lack of funds, nothing at all had been done with the property seven years after it was granted to the synod by the Gladneys. Dr. Gladney died in 1919³⁸ without seeing a single concrete step taken to realize an orphanage on the property he had given for that purpose. "There are no resources," declared the Board of Trustees in 1920,

"except the tract of land with no buildings or improvements on it."³⁹ Yet the Board thought it was unwise to conduct a campaign in behalf of the enterprise. In view of the stated need for \$150,000 "for projecting the institution," it is difficult to understand how the Board proposed to get the movement under way if not by a campaign. Presenting the cause "on its own merits" to the people was hardly a realistic way to raise the amount required, as the constant failure of the Palmer Orphanage to secure sufficient funds on that basis might have indicated.⁴⁰

Reports by the Board of Trustees from 1921 through 1924 are dreary repetitions. 1921—"The Board cannot report any aggressive steps toward securing the necessary funds for starting the orphanage."⁴¹ 1922—"No active steps have been taken for procuring funds for the establishment of the orphanage as to buildings and maintenance."⁴² 1923—"No progress has been made looking to the establishment of the orphanage as a running institution."⁴³ 1924—"No meeting of the Board of Trustees has been held since the last report to the synod, since there was no business to justify the calling of said meeting."⁴⁴

In 1928, it was recognized by the Board that the time when the property could be legally retained was fast running out unless definite steps were taken to begin construction of orphanage facilities. The property was valued at \$10,000 and a total of \$576.77 had been accumulated from small rentals. It was imperative that something should be done. Thus the Board decided "to approve the idea of going ahead in a modest way to launch the institution." A campaign was proposed to secure sufficient funds to erect "a moderately priced house" on the property which would accommodate "a few children."⁴⁵ The campaign never really caught the

imagination of the churches. "Considerable correspondence" was reported by the Board in 1929 and, by 1930, it was evident that there was no genuine demand by Louisiana Presbyterians for the founding of an orphanage at Minden. Actually, the economic depression in 1929 ended whatever flickering hope that remained for establishing the institution. It was difficult enough at this juncture to maintain the Palmer Orphanage in Columbus, Mississippi, in whose operation the Louisiana Synod shared, without assuming the financial burden of an additional children's home.

The property in Minden was deeded back to Mrs. L. K. Watkins, formerly Mrs. Gladney, whose heirs then sold it.⁴⁷ The synod authorized the reconveyance of the property in 1935⁴⁸ and reported that it was accomplished on August 12, 1936. A small amount of money on hand was given to the Palmer Orphanage.⁴⁹

LOUISIANA SYNODICAL

IN 1912, the Louisiana Synod endorsed a recommendation of the home missions committee that the Women's Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States be given permission to form a synodical organization for the Presbyterian women in Louisiana.⁵⁰ This was the first step in the formation of the Louisiana Synodical, which was officially consummated in the lecture room of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans on May 12, 1913. Miss Jordena Flournoy of Monroe was the first president.⁵¹

The first annual meeting of the synodical was held on November 19, 1913 in the Memorial Church in New Orleans in connection with the annual meeting of the Louisiana Synod. Women were present from the three Louisiana

Presbyterials. Official representatives were pleased by the attendance of "an encouraging number of visitors." Discussions were devoted to "more efficient methods of work in . . . missionary organizations." A collection of missionary literature was on display for free distribution.⁵²

Miss Flournay reported to the synod in 1914. A summer training school had been held at Silliman College, at which the three Presbyterials were represented. Work among the young people was receiving special emphasis. The Red River Presbyterial reached the standard of excellence set by the Women's Auxiliary, a ten per cent increase in members and a twenty per cent increase in gifts. About one-third of the women's societies in the synod had joined the three Presbyterials. Pastors were asked to urge the women's societies in the churches to affiliate officially with the appropriate Presbyterial.⁵³

By 1915, there were eighty societies affiliated with the synodical with a membership of 1,895. Gifts to all causes reached \$10,575. Support of the Palmer Orphanage was stressed.⁵⁴ The fears held by some of the men in the church that the presbyterials and the synodical would seek authority which they regarded as inappropriate had been largely allayed by this time. The fulminations of the Rev. John C. Barr, pastor of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church, which, among other things, were against "women speaking in the churches,"⁵⁵ had about run their course by this time and, if anything, contributed to the larger place which the women were taking in the churches. This larger place is symbolized by the fact that the financial support of the work of the church by the synodical continued to increase. This was noted with gratitude by the women's advisory committee, a committee made up entirely of men!⁵⁶

The work of Mrs. W. K. Seago of New Orleans, who served from 1919 to 1922 as president of the Louisiana Synodical, should be noted with appreciation for her faithful and wise leadership. The *Minutes* of the synodical are marked with constant references to her varied contributions.

By 1929, sixty-eight auxiliaries were reported in the Synodical with a membership of 3,780. Contributions for denominational benevolences reached \$23,373 and for local church work the amount was \$17,511. With \$6,067 added through miscellaneous gifts, the grand total was \$46,951, which was \$12 per capita. The Rev. Jasper K. Smith of Shreveport, chairman of the advisory committee on women's work said in his report, "It is very evident that the Woman's Auxiliary is doing the most efficient and systematic work for the benevolences in our Synod."⁵⁷ Whatever lingering doubts had remained in the minds of some about the propriety of the growing prominence of the work of the women were largely dissolved by this report! Strangely enough, the report was even better the next year, when there were 3,992 members, who contributed a total of \$74,741,⁵⁸ a figure that was not superseded until 1948, when \$80,380 were given.⁵⁹ The first Summer Training Conference was held in 1930 for workers in the auxiliaries at Silliman College.

The economic depression was felt in the 1930's here as elsewhere. For example, in 1934 the grand total given by the Synodical was \$33,388,⁶⁰ less than what was contributed in any year immediately prior to the depression. There was a steady increase in membership, which reached 5,517 in 1934 and 5,671 in 1935,⁶¹ and likewise a gradual growth in contributions, which reached \$41,659 in 1938.⁶²

In 1941, the committee on woman's work stated that the work of the women was "the livewire" of the church.⁶³ It is

indeed obvious that the contributions of the women, which reached \$112,226 in 1957, and the steady growth in membership, which reached 11,809 at that time, constitute a major factor in the recent history of the synod.⁶⁴ Their concern for missions and education has had incalculable consequences for good.

Educational Developments in the Synod of Louisiana

SOUTHWESTERN

A DISTINGUISHED guest at the initial meeting of the Synod of Louisiana in 1901 was Dr. George Summey, who invited the new body to join in the control and support of Southwestern Presbyterian University, of which he was chancellor. He was later an active participant in the affairs of the synod as editor of *The Southwestern Presbyterian* and *The Presbyterian Journal*, both published in New Orleans, and pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church there. Dr. Summey's invitation was accepted and thus the synod continued the relationship with the institution which the presbyteries in Louisiana had sustained to it when they belonged to the Mississippi Synod.¹

At this time there were twelve "instructors," six "degree courses," and an "elective system," and it was announced that "special additions" had been made in the "scientific department." "For ninety-three dollars," an advertisement in *The Southwestern Presbyterian* concluded, "all the ordinary expenses [for a half year] are guaranteed."² Since 1885, the school had provided a theological department, in which ministerial candidates were given professional training. Lack of "sufficient funds" and the availability of several strong Presbyterian divinity schools, though none of these was located in the territory served by Southwestern, resulted in the discontinuance of this department in 1917, a step which

was approved by the Louisiana Synod.³ This, of course, did not mean that Southwestern relaxed its interest in the Christian character of the education offered. It meant that the school surrendered the effort to offer professional training for the ministry, which the Board of Directors realized could be adequately provided only by a theological seminary, and, released from this, it was then able to concentrate completely on a liberal arts education informed with a Christian perspective. Many of the ministers of the Southern Presbyterian Church have received their college training at Southwestern.

It was evident by 1916 that Clarksville, Tennessee, the seat of the University, was not centrally located in the territory the school was designed to serve. But the citizens of Clarksville were determined to keep the institution there and projected a campaign which resulted in \$25,000, an average of over five dollars per person for the white residents of the town. That seemed to insure that the school would not be moved. Dr. J. R. Dobyns reflected the exuberance of the community over the campaign in an article in *The Presbyterian Journal* in which he said, "Clarksville has done herself proud by subscribing . . . \$25,000 for Southwestern Presbyterian University. The scene Friday night [at the conclusion of the campaign in April, 1916,] at headquarters downtown in a vacant store on Franklin Street . . . , when we came [together] to hear final reports and finish up the work, beggars description. I am sure," he continued, "no little town ever experienced a greater exhibition of loyalty and enthusiasm. The town and the university are tied with a knot that cannot be unfastened."⁴

But the "knot" was "unfastened," not because of any lack of loyalty by the citizens of Clarksville, but because the school was too far removed from the center of the con-

stituency it served. Memphis, Tennessee, to which the school was eventually moved, was nearer the center of that constituency and, besides, offered a lucrative inducement in property and money.

In 1925, the college, called simply "Southwestern," was opened on a large and beautiful campus in Memphis in buildings in the Collegiate Gothic style. The city of Memphis provided a campus and eight hundred thousand dollars, and the four synods—Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee—contributed one million dollars. Dr. Charles E. Diehl, who was president of the school at this time, concluded thirty-two years as head of the institution in 1949, the centennial of the school, and was succeeded by Dr. Peyton N. Rhodes. Surely it is fitting to record here that Dr. Diehl's contribution to Presbyterian education in the South through his statesmanlike leadership of Southwestern has been a major factor in shaping the history of the church. His name looms large on any list of Christian educators in this country and holds a high place in Presbyterian history.

Until 1924, the institution was attached to the Presbyterian Church by a by-law but, at that time, the Charter was amended so that the church and the college were bound together by the Charter itself requiring concurrence of the four synods—including, of course, the Synod of Louisiana—for any changes to be made in the character and control of the school. Each of the four synods elects four directors of the college and these sixteen men, plus the president of the college, constitute the Board of Directors. One director elected by each synod must be a Memphis Presbyterian in order to have an Executive Committee which can function locally.⁵

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

At the initial meeting of the Synod of Louisiana in 1901, the Committee on Education for the Ministry lamented "the decrease in the number of candidates for the ministry."⁶ As pointed out previously, the Synod assumed an official relationship with Southwestern Presbyterian University of Clarksville, Tennessee, which offered training for the ministry in its theological department, but it was evident that this was not sufficient. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1902 the synod received "with sincere pleasure and genuine interest" an address by Dr. T. R. Sampson, president of the Austin Presbyterian Seminary, Austin, Texas, which had recently been founded. The beginning had been "auspicious." A committee of the synod declared, "We welcome the new-comer with both hands and bespeak for the youngest born of our seminaries the prayers of God's people everywhere."⁷ There were signs that the "distressing drouth of candidates for the ministry" might be coming to an end with the founding of Austin Seminary.⁸

In 1903, the Synod of Georgia overtured the Louisiana Synod—along with the Synods of Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida—requesting that the synods send representatives to Atlanta on December 8, 1903, to consider the "feasibility" of combining Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tennessee, and Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia, and establishing a university in Atlanta with collegiate and divinity departments.⁹ The Louisiana Synod responded by agreeing to send three delegates to the meeting in Atlanta but registered the opinion that "insurmountable obstacles" stood in the way of consummating the proposal due to provisions which would

prevent the use of "a considerable portion" of the endowment of Southwestern in the anticipated fusion of the two institutions.¹⁰ Nothing came of this proposal, though much anxiety erupted among Tennessee Presbyterians who feared that Southwestern might be removed from the state. In the 1905 *Minutes*, a feeling of satisfaction is reflected over "the final settling of the question" concerning the location of the University, which was to remain at Clarksville, Tennessee. The future was encouraging under the presidency of Dr. Neander M. Woods. The synod was committed to Southwestern as its theological school.¹¹

In a few years, it became evident that Southwestern could not continue as a first rate college and also function as a theological seminary. In 1913, only eighteen were enrolled in the divinity school.¹² As previously indicated, the theological department of the University was suspended in 1917 due to insufficient financial support and the fact that several theological schools were available to young men who wished to pursue the study of divinity. This decision was made on June 1, 1917, the same date on which Dr. Charles E. Diehl, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Clarksville, Tennessee, was elected president of Southwestern.¹³

The decision in 1917 to discontinue the theological department at Southwestern meant that the synods which were officially linked with that institution—the Louisiana Synod was among them—turned their attention to "the whole question of theological education." In 1919, a committee charged with the responsibility of dealing with this matter reported to the synod. There was no "immediate prospect for reopening the theological department of Southwestern Presbyterian University." Overtures were received by the Committee from Columbia, Louisville, and Union Seminaries,

each of which offered to do whatever its charter would permit in giving the synods part control on its Board of Trustees. These offers were declined. "Sooner or later," the committee believed, it would be necessary to have a theological school within the bounds of the four synods but "the time was not ripe" for that. The unsettled educational situation incident to the first world war and the necessity of changing the charter of Southwestern to permit the synods to enter into an official relationship with a seminary—a step which the committee opposed—resulted in three recommendations, which the synod accepted. (1) The propositions of the seminaries were declined. (2) The action of the Southwestern Board in terminating the theological department was approved. (3) The synods and their presbyteries were left free to choose where to send their ministerial candidates.¹⁴

From this time until 1928, the Synod of Louisiana assumed an attitude of neutrality toward the several Presbyterian seminaries in the South. Ministerial candidates were sent to all of them. Advertisements pointing out the advantages of Columbia, Union, Austin, and Louisville Seminaries appeared in the *Minutes* of the Synod during the 1920's. Columbia Seminary in Decatur, Georgia, was said to be in "the famous health resort belt of the South, making it one of the finest winter climates. A railroad center . . . makes it unusually convenient for the students to supply vacant churches."¹⁵ Union Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, also afforded "special opportunities to students" and offered assurance that it pursued a policy of "conservatism in doctrine and progressiveness in methods."¹⁶ Austin Seminary in Austin, Texas, stressed the availability of "special academic work or post graduate study in the University of Texas." Louisville

Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, gave emphasis to the "practical training" offered there, with "moderate expenses" and "home life for students."¹⁷

In 1928, the synod decided to face the issue of theological education again and, if possible, to settle on a seminary with which to establish official relations. After considerable discussion concerning invitations received by the synod to affiliate officially with Austin, Columbia, and Louisville Seminaries, and, after the Columbia Seminary withdrew from consideration in favor of Austin, the synod voted twenty-five for Austin and twenty-five for Louisville. The moderator, Dr. B. C. Bell, cast his vote in favor of Austin and, accordingly, the Synod of Louisiana affiliated with Austin Theological Seminary at Austin, Texas. This relationship has been happily sustained. In 1931, there were thirty-nine students in the school. The Louisiana Synod contributed \$1,000.08 during the church year of 1930-1931.¹⁹ Gifts remained small through the years. In 1944, "the small amount of financial support, given Austin Seminary by the Synod of Louisiana" was reported with regret.²⁰ The next year, it was stated that Dr. David L. Stitt had assumed the presidency of the Seminary. At that time it was stated that in the previous ten years the Synod of Louisiana had only two of its candidates for the ministry enrolled at Austin Seminary.²¹

In 1951, the Synod reported a "highly successful financial campaign for the Seminary," in which \$170,000 were pledged. By this time, the Mid-Winter lectures at Austin were a popular feature,²² and the enrollment went beyond two hundred students. In 1958, Dean James I. McCord was elected president of Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, a signal honor to both Dr. McCord and

Austin Seminary. He is both an able educator and a brilliant theological scholar.

It should be added here that Dr. George Summey, who served as editor of two Presbyterian papers and pastor in New Orleans from 1903 to 1927, was professor of theology at Austin Seminary until his retirement in 1941, when he returned to New Orleans. He reached the end of his earthly journey on February 21, 1954, a centenarian who lacked less than four months, June 3, of reaching the age of one hundred and one years. A son-in-law, Dr. A. B. Dinwiddie, was president of Tulane University until 1937.

Dr. Summey was commissioned to write the history of the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana and had collected some material to this end when his failing powers made it necessary for him to lay aside this work, which fittingly is dedicated to him. A North Carolinian, he was educated at Davidson College, the University of Georgia, and Union Theological Seminary then located at Hampden Sydney, Virginia. He was ordained in 1873 and held pastorates in Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, and South Carolina before becoming Chancellor of Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville, Tennessee, a position he held until 1903, when he became managing editor of *The Southwestern Presbyterian* and stated supply of the Third Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, which at the time he came to the Crescent City was seeking a minister. He served in this capacity until January 2, 1910, when he was installed as pastor of the Third Church, which under his leadership became one of the leading churches in the Synod. A mission school which he began in the Esplanade and Broad Street district became the Esplanade Presbyterian Church in 1914. Five years later it was merged with the Third Church.

In 1925, he was elected moderator of the General Assembly. His work at Austin Seminary, to which he went in 1927, has already been mentioned. From 1941 until his death he lived in semi-retirement in New Orleans. He really did not fully retire until the last three years of his life when he was literally unable to work except for some writing because of his failing physical powers. Active in attendance at Presbyterian meetings, he served as secretary of the Board of Publications for the Synod of Louisiana until 1951, following which he was busily engaged with the history mentioned above. Formal recognition of his magnificent service was made by the Synod in 1950.²³

SILLIMAN COLLEGE

THIS school, owned and operated by the Presbytery of Louisiana, was not mentioned in the *Minutes* of the Synod of Louisiana in 1901. The following year the Committee on Church and Christian Education, of which Dr. McF. Alexander was chairman, reminded the synod that Silliman was the only "collegiate institute" in the territory of the synod. The estimated value of the buildings and grounds was said to be \$50,000, with an endowment of "about" \$27,000. President F. W. Lewis was moderator of the Louisiana Synod in 1902.²⁴ There is a rather surprising opinion in this report. The Louisiana Synod was called "perhaps the weakest" in the church and this was given as the reason for the lack of an aggressive program of Christian education. It must, of course, be remembered that the Louisiana Synod had been in existence only a year. The Synod was shortly to show surprising strength.

It should be understood that Silliman bore no official relationship to the synod at this time. It had been in charge

of the Louisiana Presbytery since 1866.²⁵ No effort was made to change the status of the school in the early years of the synod's history. As long as the institution was doing well there was little reason for the Louisiana Presbytery to surrender its ownership of the school. In 1906, the Louisiana Presbytery declared that "synodical control of Silliman" was "impossible" due to "conditions under which the property was donated" to that Presbytery. The Board of Trustees was made up predominantly of representatives from the Louisiana Presbytery, though by this time two trustees each from the Red River and New Orleans Presbyteries were on the Board.²⁶

The first evidence of difficulty at Silliman appears in the *Minutes of the Louisiana Presbytery* for April 27, 1907.²⁷ Attendance for the 1906-1907 session was "not so good as in years past" due largely to the "much better condition of the public high schools in Clinton and elsewhere." The financial loss for the year would reach about \$1,000. The Board of Trustees decided to turn the institution over to H. H. Brownlee, who was given whatever profit he could muster. Repairs and insurance continued to be the responsibility of the Board.²⁸ The session was concluded in June, 1907 "with everything in good shape except the finances."

A year later, prospects for the institution were encouraging. There were "more pupils" and the facilities of the school were improved by the erection of a raised water tank, which conveyed water into the upper stories of the buildings.²⁹

By 1910, the Louisiana Presbytery realized that the survival of the school was dependent upon synodical support. "The earnest co-operation of the brethren of the presbytery and synod" was "sadly" needed. It had become difficult to secure a president because, as the Presbytery put it, the

catalogue showed "unmistakably that the Presbyterians of the state" were not supporting "their school."³⁰ This was quite a different attitude from the view held in 1906, when the Presbytery stated that synodical control was "impossible." Now the school was said to be the responsibility of the Presbyterians of the state as a whole. Six years elapsed, however, before the Synod of Louisiana, in 1916, appointed a committee to deal with "the offer of Louisiana Presbytery to transfer to the Synod of Louisiana the control and direction of the school."³¹ In 1919, the committee recommended that Silliman Institute be changed from a presbyterial to a synodical institution, that a "special committee" be appointed to arrange for the transfer, and that the synod elect nine trustees, three from each Presbytery.³² The recommendation was accepted and the "impossible" had become an actuality.

In 1920, the school was said to be in a "prosperous condition." Twenty young ladies were graduated in May. All "running expenses" had been paid and salaries had been raised. "An electric light plant" was needed. A campaign to raise \$100,000 for the institution was authorized by the synod.³³ Subsequent years were described as "very successful in every way except financially."³⁴

By 1925, the enrollment had declined to thirty-nine in the college department and nine in the high school section. In June, there was a deficit of \$5,000. It was evident that unless more boarding students could be secured the school would have to be closed. It was hoped that the highway which was being constructed through Clinton from east to west, connecting the town with points on the Illinois Central railroad on the east and the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley railroad on the west, would result in increasing enrollment

by making the school more accessible. The fact that Clinton was not on a railroad prompted the synod to appoint a committee to look into the advisability of "removing Silliman College to a different location."³⁵ The committee considered several possible new sites for the school but no definite offers were received. It then "with great regret" recommended that the college be closed at the end of the 1926-1927 session.³⁶ This was accepted but rescinded the following year and committees were appointed to consider the academic and financial problems of the school.³⁷ The revival of interest in the institution was largely the consequence of renewed concern on the part of the alumnae.

In 1927, the Board of Trustees made an extensive report. Several features of it should be noted. Dr. L. E. Heinmiller was elected president. A "Silliman Day" in the churches was suggested as a time for special gifts to the school. To the nine members of the Board, equally divided among the three presbyteries, six members residing in the Louisiana Presbytery were added as "at large" members. The death of D. M. Pipes, who for more than thirty years had served on the Silliman Board, was recorded with deep regret and appreciation was registered for his selfless devotion to the institution.

The future of the school was considered to be "bright" in 1930. The "widespread depression" had been felt but confidence was strong. The student body was made up of fifty girls. The use of the school for summer conferences was commended by the Board. The fifth successive Young People's Conference, the second summer camp for girls, and the first Training School for the Woman's Auxiliary were held in 1930.³⁹ The use of the facilities of the college for conferences in the summer has continued to the present.

These meetings, held for all groups within the Church, both clerical and lay, have come to play an important role in the life of Louisiana Presbyterianism.

In spite of the high hopes held for the school in the fall of 1930, it was evident by the following spring that the school could not continue due to the decline in enrollment and a growing financial deficit. The Board of Directors met on May 22, 1931, and declared that the institution must be closed.⁴⁰ But there was still hope that the school could be maintained as a joint operation, in which the Board of Directors would share responsibility with the East Feliciana Parish School Board, a proposition considered at a special meeting of the synod at Silliman College on June 11, 1931. A communication from Superintendent P. H. DuPuy of the School Board, containing eleven points, is preserved in the *Minutes* of that meeting. The major matters in the proposal were that (1) the Board of Trustees of Silliman College would remain intact as a board of supervisors; (2) the facilities of the school would be made available to the parish school board for ten years; (3) the Clinton high school and a parish junior college would be operated at Silliman; (4) a department of Bible and Christian education would be maintained offering elective courses. In other words, Silliman College would be taken over by the parish school board and as a high school and junior college under the general supervision of the Silliman Board of Directors.

A special committee appointed by the synod to consider the proposal, made up of the Rev. J. A. Christian, the Rev. Dunbar H. Ogden, and Elder E. G. Davis, drafted a memorandum in conference with Superintendent DuPuy, who apparently accepted it. Some salient features of the memorandum should be mentioned. No tuition would be charged

to daughters of the clergy. The Board of Trustees would have entire use of the campus between June 5 and September 1 of each year. The teacher of Bible and Christian education would be approved by the Board of Trustees.⁴¹

Six weeks after the meeting where the above agreements were made the entire scheme was rejected by the East Feliciana Parish School Board! This unexpected outcome followed the unconditional approval of the plan by the state superintendent of education, T. H. Harris, the superintendent of education for East Feliciana Parish, P. H. DuPuy, and the lawyer for the local school board, and after the Silliman Board and the Trustees of the Presbytery of Louisiana had authorized the contract. Exactly what transpired was not revealed. Either Mr. DuPuy got ahead of the school board or misunderstood it or the members of the board had a complete reversal of attitude. On July 28, 1931, the school board did not have "the slightest interest in carrying out the original proposition or any other feasible scheme."⁴² Thus a plan entered into in good faith by the Synod of Louisiana—a plan proposed by the superintendent of the East Feliciana Parish School Board—was rejected by that Board, which gave no reasons for its sudden reversal of position. Perhaps the implicit relationship between church and state involved in the plan was the cause of the change of mind. Perhaps pressures which came from certain unspecified sources scuttled the scheme. The fact remained that on July 28, 1931, Silliman College was still closed and on the hands of the synod.

At Minden in the fall of that year, the synod faced frankly the problem of its closed college at Clinton. It was decided that the school should remain closed and that, for the pres-

ent, no effort would be made to establish any official relationship between Silliman and the Synod of Mississippi.

At the same meeting the Synod of Louisiana also declined to share in the directorate of Belhaven College at Jackson, Mississippi, a senior college for women, which came under Presbyterian control in 1911.⁴³ In 1937, the proposal by Belhaven College to the synod was renewed and a synodical committee recommended that two directors from the Louisiana Synod be elected to serve on the Belhaven Board. It was understood that this arrangement would not involve the Louisiana Synod in any official financial responsibility. But the recommendation was not accepted by the Synod of Louisiana, which has never sustained any sort of official relationship with the institution. Belhaven College is "owned and controlled entirely and exclusively by the Synod of Mississippi."⁴⁴

Before leaving the story of Silliman College, one matter deserves brief comment. The death of D. W. Pipes in 1939 ended the earthly career of an honored and useful member of the Board of the College. His father before him and his children as well as Pipes himself constituted a strong factor, perhaps the strongest, in maintaining the school through the years. It was through Mr. Pipes' generosity that the Pipes-Dickinson building, with its equipment, was made possible in 1894. He made other large contributions and devoted his energies unstintedly to the school, thus earning a significant place in the history of Louisiana Presbyterianism.

FRENCH SCHOOL

IN 1910 at Morgan City in south Louisiana, the synod adopted a resolution "to endorse the plan of a French school

at Plaquemine, Louisiana, with the Rev. J. H. Paradis as principal.⁴⁵ The proposal was referred to the Committee on Home Missions to consider ways and means to implement the project as funds warranted. But sufficient funds failed to materialize—a total of only \$49.00 was on hand in November, 1911⁴⁶—and the proposed school never became a reality. Not one cent was raised between this time and November 12, 1913, two years later, when the bank balance of the French School was still exactly \$49.00!⁴⁷ Only five people contributed to the project.⁴⁸ The idea was never really accepted by Presbyterians throughout Louisiana. Interest in the school was confined to a few people in a small section of the state. Furthermore, there were “local reasons,” undefined but probably rooted in Roman Catholic opposition to the school, which “interfered”⁴⁹ with using the property at Plaquemine owned by the Louisiana Presbytery.⁵⁰ Several decades had passed since that Presbytery had maintained a school in Plaquemine.

SYNODICAL SUPERVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

UNTIL 1950, the only coordinating factors in the synod with reference to education were two committees. One committee received reports from Southwestern, Austin Seminary, the Trustees of Silliman College, and, strangely enough, Palmer Orphanage and made recommendations concerning these bodies to the synod. There was a separate “student work” committee, which in 1945 reported that student organizations had been effected on eight campuses in the state. Plans were under way at that time to construct student centers.⁵¹

In 1946, the Synod’s committee on student work made an

extensive report calculated to give unity and greater strength to work on the various campuses in the state. Several features of this report should be mentioned. The entire matter of student work was brought to a focus at the Annual Westminster Fellowship meetings held at Louisiana State University. Eight colleges were represented and sixty-eight persons registered. Particular attention was given at this meeting to the work at Louisiana State University because of the "critical situation and . . . glorious opportunity there."⁵² A "called meeting" of the synod took place at Baton Rouge early in 1947 to deal with this matter. At this meeting, it was wisely decided to separate the anticipated Student Center on the L.S.U. campus from the University Presbyterian Church, which would use the Student Center as a temporary domicile until a church building was completed, and to distinguish the work of the student director from the work of the pastor of the University Presbyterian Church. In the very nature of the case, a close geographic and functional relationship would inevitably exist between the University Church and the Student Center. This decision meant that officially the student work did not sustain a closer relationship to the University Church than to any other Presbyterian church in the Baton Rouge area. This action also preserved synodical responsibility for and assistance to the student work at the state university.⁵³

In 1950, the entire matter of Christian education, including student work, was placed under the supervision of a Committee on Religious Education pursuant to the action of the General Assembly. A giant step in unifying the educational program of the Presbyterian churches in the state was taken when a regional director for the synod, the Rev. J. Wayne Fulton, Jr., was supplied by the General Assembly.⁵⁴ The

operational procedure established by the Board of Christian Education of the Assembly meant that the salary, travel expenses, and one half the cost of the rental of a home for the Director were assumed by the Board of Education. The costs of an office, office equipment, and assistants were assumed by the synod. This plan is still in effect.

On October 1, 1953, the Rev. George Ricks became regional director of Christian education for the Synod and the headquarters were moved from New Orleans to Baton Rouge. An extensive report on Christian education appeared in the *Minutes* of the Synod in 1954, reflecting the increasingly large place this endeavor was coming to occupy in the life of the Synod. Under the heading of "religious education" five matters were discussed—children's work, youth work, leadership conferences, adult work, leadership and church school administration. Under the category "higher education," work among the students in state schools and the responsibility of the Synod for the support of Austin Seminary, Southwestern, and Palmer Orphanage were considered. The labor of the Rev. Robert D. Earnest in the campaign for Negro work and Southwestern was commended. The report on education was concluded with a statement concerning "men's work."⁵⁵

In 1955, the Synod gave the Rev. George Ricks "a rising vote of appreciation for his excellent work." By this time the educational work of the Synod was separated into three "divisions," as they were called, for the first time: religious education, dealing with the educational program in the churches, higher education, covering the educational task of the Synod on the college and seminary levels, and men's work.⁵⁶

At Ruston in 1956, the Synod expressed its confidence in the work of regional director Ricks by requesting that the Board of Education in Richmond, Virginia, assign him to the Synod for a second three-year tenure. The policy pursued by the synod with reference to student centers was spelled out at this meeting. This is important enough to quote in full:

The Campus Christian Life Program is Synod's responsibility. The property of student centers should be held by the trustees of the Synod. Churches will supervise the program from the local standpoint in co-operation with the Synod's Committee on Campus Christian Life but final authority and responsibility rests with Synod's Committee on Christian Education.⁵⁷

In 1957, it was announced that Miss Florence Bennett had become assistant to the Regional Director. She and Mr. Ricks were given a vote of thanks by the Synod. Particular note was taken of the Committee on Campus Christian Life under the capable direction of the Rev. Alex Hunter, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, who was publicly commended. In connection with student work, it was announced that a student center had been erected at Northeastern College at Monroe and that a student center had been purchased for the Tulane University and Newcomb College students in cooperation with the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. The Rev. Joseph Hopper was secured as minister to students.⁵⁸

CHAPTER X

Louisiana Presbyterians at Work

NEW ORLEANS PRESBYTERY

WHEN the Synod of Louisiana was organized in New Orleans, November 19-22, 1901, the Presbytery of New Orleans was the strongest of the three presbyteries, having twenty-one ministers and forty-six churches. This numerical superiority was short lived, however, because by the 1902 meeting of the Synod five ministers and sixteen churches in the state of Mississippi which the General Assembly placed in the Synod of Mississippi were removed from the New Orleans Presbytery. This forced a realignment of policy and was a factor in orienting the Presbytery southward in its missionary outreach, one of the consequences of which was work among the French.

French Missions

In 1903, the Rev. Pierre Philippe Briol was employed by the Presbytery to work with the French. Through his efforts, the First French Presbyterian Church was organized in New Orleans on April 23, 1905, with seventeen members. This church, which became extinct in 1914 when Briol returned to France, produced one minister, the Rev. Edmond La-Vergne, who was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Bogalusa from 1908 to 1914.² Efforts in the nineteenth century to establish work among the French by the Rev. Marc Roux were not successful.

In 1910, the home missions committee of the Presbytery began working on Bayou Blue among the French speaking natives of Terrebone and La Fourche Parishes. Strategy was planned by the Rev. M. R. Paradis and the Rev. J. N.

Blackburn, the pastor at Houma. The initial service was conducted in a dance hall on one of the bayous near Houma. Paradis told the assembled group about the Gospel of divine redemption through faith in Christ, an old story which was new to many who heard it. A dance which had been scheduled following the service did not materialize!

Mr. E. Daigle, who owned a dance hall in Bayou Blue, happened to hear Paradis and offered the preacher his facilities for further services. The invitation was accepted and regular services began at Bayou Blue. Daigle eventually provided land on which a house of worship was erected in ten days by the men of the congregation. Until April 23, 1924, when the Bayou Blue Presbyterian Church was organized, the congregation was governed by the session of the Houma Church, whose pastor, the Rev. J. N. Blackburn ministered to the people at Bayou Blue. Blackburn continued to preach there twice per month for many years.

Miss Lois Garrison conducted Vacation Bible Schools in the French Missions in south Louisiana. The schools were financed primarily by the Presbyterial. The work among the French along Bayou La Fourche by the Rev. and Mrs. E. A. Ford should be mentioned. They held services on Sunday in French, mostly in homes along the bayou, visited interested people during the week, ministered to the sick, and sometimes brought patients to the hospital in New Orleans.³

The Chinese Presbyterian Church

On February 13, 1957, a committee of the New Orleans Presbytery organized the Chinese Presbyterian Church. The inception of movement which issued in this church occurred on February 12, 1882, in the home of its remarkable founder, Miss Lena Saunders, at 215 South Liberty Street, in a meeting attended by five Chinese young men who were new

arrivals in New Orleans from San Francisco. The Canal Street Church worked closely with Miss Saunders from the beginning in providing instruction in the English language and the Christian religion. In 1884, the New Orleans Presbytery joined the Canal Street Church in supervision of work with the Chinese.⁴

Mrs. E. P. Radford was made superintendent of the Chinese mission in 1892, when Miss Saunders became incapacitated. Four years later, the first Chinese wedding was celebrated in the mission, which was still housed in the former home of Miss Saunders. A hostelry was provided for Chinese folk, a service continued by Miss Anna W. Creevy, who became superintendent in 1911. Under her leadership, a Sunday school program for boys and girls was organized, supplementing the religious services on Sunday, which, until that time, had been designed primarily for men. In 1926, the mission was moved to its second home at 223 South Roman Street. Miss Lois Garrison became director of the mission in 1928, after Miss Creevy's death. The contributions of Arthur Frantz and Arthur Boder to work among the Chinese is here noted. They have earned the gratitude of all who understand that the Gospel is for every race at home and abroad.

The assumption that the Chinese would be assimilated into the congregations of the Presbyterian churches of the city proved false. Consequently the New Orleans Presbytery in 1951 began planning to develop the Chinese mission into a church. It was felt that the Chinese would take an even greater interest in the work if they had a church of their own. With this end in view, the Rev. Dayton Castleman was called to become the first minister of this mission, which met for one year in the Prytania Street Church.

On May 3, 1953, the educational unit at 2525 Bienville Avenue was dedicated. It was erected with funds from the 1946 Birthday Offering of the Women of the Church of the General Assembly (\$26,250), supplemented by gifts from the young people of the General Assembly (Home Mission offerings of 1945 and 1946) and the Chinese people themselves.

The Chinese Church, organized February 13, 1957, exactly one day after the seventy-fifth anniversary of the beginning of work with the Chinese in the Crescent City, carries a full church program and also includes English and citizenship classes, a Chinese school, and work with students and Chinese seamen under the leadership of Mr. Charles O. Chang of Formosa, who is Associate Worker. The church also provides contact between the Chinese community and various oriental visitors to the city. The Rev. Dayton Castleman believes that the new approach of the Presbytery has been justified by the increased church attendance and the sustained interest in the Sunday school, women's activities, and men's work elicited by an organized Chinese Church with its full program and leadership provided by the members themselves.

In 1958, two major objectives lay ahead—the erection of a sanctuary and the provision of expanded hostelry facilities. These dreams of Miss Garrison were nearing reality due to a gift of \$75,000 from the Women of the Church of the General Assembly. This was a part of the 1958 Birthday Offering.

The Lois Garrison Memorial Building Fund, begun at the time of Miss Garrison's death February 12, 1954, and gifts from the women of the Southern Church will be used to erect a hostelry, a project in which Miss Garrison was par-

ticularly interested. The good works of this dedicated woman do indeed live on after her.

In March, 1958, another forward step was taken by the Church with the arrival of a Chinese worker from Hong Kong, Miss Grace Yao, who would infuse into the work "more of a Chinese approach." In the words of Mr. Castleman, this denominational project is a notable example of "world missions in home missions."⁵

Work Among the Hungarians

The Hungarian Presbyterian Church, about nine miles west of Hammond, was originally a Reformed Church and was received into the Presbytery of New Orleans on June 5, 1907, with fifty-four members. The pastor, the Rev. John Kovacs, was received at the same time on a letter of dismission from the Hungarian Classics of the Reformed Church in the United States.⁶ It was later learned that the church was in Livingston Parish and therefore within the bounds of the Louisiana Presbytery but with the consent of that Presbytery it remained a member of the New Orleans Presbytery.⁷

This community, then known as Maxwell, was constituted by Hungarians, most of whom came to the settlement near Hammond from Ohio's coal mines beginning in 1893. They learned through a Hungarian-American newspaper that a sawmill in Louisiana was advertising for workers and that cutover land was available for purchase at very reasonable prices. When the sawmill closed the people turned to the raising of strawberries, the crop on which the community still depends.⁸ In 1958, there were about 175 Hungarian families engaged in farming.

During the ministry of Kovacs, a frame church building was erected, valued at about \$1,500, on twenty acres of land donated by the Breckenridge Lumber Company. It was

dedicated on March 15, 1908. Churches in New Orleans, especially the First Church, contributed generously toward this building. Twice within a three-year period—September 20, 1909 and April 16, 1912—the building was blown from its foundation by severe wind storms and twice restored through the generosity of sister churches. From 1912 to 1920 the church was served by the Rev. A. Csontos.⁹

Then came the Rev. Alexander Bartus, tall, raw-boned, soft-spoken, son of a strawberry farmer, who had grown up in the community. In 1910, he had been received into the Hungarian Church and shortly thereafter became a candidate for the ministry under the care of the New Orleans Presbytery in the Bloomfield Theological Seminary in New Jersey. He had completed his divinity studies and was pastor of a church in Aurora, Illinois.¹⁰ His coming as pastor of the Hungarian Church in 1921 was the result of an invitation extended to him during a visit to his family. "Will you take the church?" he was asked. The delegation waiting upon him realized the young minister was reluctant to return to his home community as pastor and so the spokesman added, "Will you try for a while?" He agreed to try.¹¹ That was in 1921. He is still "trying" but now there is no hesitation about his role in the church or in any of the many activities in which he is engaged. He quite literally has done and does the work of several men.

During the ministry of Bartus, the Sunday school was thoroughly reorganized, a Ladies Aid and a Young People's Society were formed and, more recently, Vacation Bible Schools have been conducted. Worship services were held for many years entirely in the Hungarian language, which in the last decade has been largely displaced by English. For example, on February 23, 1958, Hungarian was used in only one prayer during the service.¹² A commodious

community house was dedicated in 1930. The church is now housed in a neat white frame building, near which stands the manse, into which the Bartus family moved from their farm. But Bartus did not stop farming! Right behind the house is a large strawberry patch. Since his six children are grown, how he manages to raise strawberries and continue his innumerable church and civic activities are great mysteries which no one can fathom! Merely to list his responsibilities suggests the magnitude of his labors. An "old folks home" was established in an abandoned Hungarian school with the aid of parish welfare authorities. The home is supported largely by the Hungarian community, though today there is not a single person of Hungarian descent in it. "It's sort of insurance," the minister explained, "and we may never need it for any of our folk—but just in case we do, it's there for them."¹³

In 1944, Bartus led in the organization of a church at Albany, of which he has been pastor from the beginning. The fact that this church which is not Hungarian in its constituency has been served to the delight of the members by this Hungarian minister is symbolic of the significant place which Bartus has won for himself in the larger community. He has taught mathematics in the high school. He is associated with a farmer's association. He served on all the boards in the parish which had anything to do with rationing or wartime needs during the Second World War. He has been active in Boy Scout and 4-H Club work. He is active in promoting the program of the Soil Conservation Service. No wonder he was selected "rural minister of the year" in Louisiana in 1951 by *The Progressive Farmer*, a monthly agricultural magazine in co-operation with the Candler School of Theology of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia. He was given a citation which reads: "In recog-

dition of his outstanding leadership in the rural church movement, the development of rural community life, and co-operative work with agencies and organizations which have for their goal the creation of better rural living for all people."¹⁴

On March 14, 1957, fifteen young Hungarian refugees, who had fled from Communist tyranny in their homeland, arrived in Hammond from Camp Kilmer, New Jersey. Their coming was arranged by Bartus and the Hungarian Refugee Committee of Livingston Parish. They worshiped quietly in the Hungarian Presbyterian Church on the Sunday following their arrival. "Their faces showed their gratitude after having escaped from the devastation in Hungary," wrote one observer, "and they looked like Americans already." Bartus commented: "Our people have taken them to their hearts."¹⁵

The Hungarian community near Hammond is the lengthened shadow of its acknowledged leader, the Rev. Alexander Bartus. His largeness is much more than a matter of his physical size and is suggested by several telephone calls which came from people in the community needing help when the minister was being interviewed by the author. "We're with you. Be cheerful. We're together," were typical of the simple words of courage and comfort he spoke as he talked to his parishioners and others who called him. Alexander Bartus is a man who in his unassuming way has wrought mightily in the things that really matter. He has brought honor to himself and the Presbyterian Church and looms large in the recent history of the Church in Louisiana.

The Strategy Committee of the New Orleans Presbytery

In 1949, a strategy committee composed of ten men from New Orleans churches under the direction of Dr. John S. Land, the distinguished pastor of the St. Charles Avenue

Presbyterian Church for forty-two years until his retirement in 1959, was organized for the purpose of investigating the need for new churches. Specifically the committee was charged with the responsibility of purchasing sites on which churches might be constructed.

The committee was the outgrowth of a resolution adopted by the Presbytery on December 18, 1948. At the beginning the area envisaged was confined to "New Orleans and its suburbs" and the constituency of the committee was thus restricted to Presbyterians in the New Orleans area.¹⁶ In 1953, the committee was enlarged to include the entire Presbytery¹⁷ and since that time the Oak Park Presbyterian Church and the Parkway Presbyterian Church have been organized largely through its efforts. Work has been started in Arabi, Aurora Gardens, and Lakeland Terrace. The first venture outside of New Orleans was at Franklin, Louisiana, where a church was organized early in 1958.¹⁸

An example of how the committee functions may be seen in the early history of the Oak Park Church. A survey of the Parkchester-Mirabeau area was conducted by volunteers from all of the city's Presbyterian churches to determine whether the area would be a feasible place in which to establish a church. It was determined that the section surveyed would quickly become densely populated and, therefore, a site was purchased for \$21,000 from the Oak Park Development Company. But this was only the first step. The committee marked a milestone in the method of establishing a new church by securing \$70,000 from the New Orleans Presbytery, with which construction of facilities was begun. The pastor, the Rev. William A. Crosland, Jr., who came in January, 1954, described the beginning of the church succinctly and graphically when he wrote, "Never a baby, this new church! As Athena sprang full grown from

the head of Zeus, so this church was born almost in adulthood."¹⁹

The church was organized July 26, 1953, with 133 charter members. Five elders and four deacons were elected. The Rev. Thompson B. Southall, Field Secretary of Church Extension for the Presbytery, and Miss Ann Faucette of the General Assembly's Training School helped greatly in the early stages of the church. The Home Missions Committee and the Strategy Committee have continued to assist the church, which in 1955 had a membership of 260.²⁰

The work established at Arabi by the Strategy Committee provided the Claiborne Avenue Church with an opportunity to adopt the Collegiate Church Plan, by which the work at Arabi was incorporated into the Claiborne Avenue Church. Under this plan a single church, the Claiborne Avenue, operates with two branches; one at the site of the old Claiborne Avenue Church and the other in Arabi. Both branches operate under the same session and board of deacons, both of which were enlarged to include the Arabi group to give them a voice in matters of concern to them, and contribute to the same budget. Both branches function simultaneously as the Claiborne Avenue Presbyterian Church with the same officers and the same minister, the Rev. Max Ecke.

The Collegiate Plan was adopted by the Claiborne Avenue Church due to a population shift, as result of which it became evident that the continued operation of the church on its original site presented growing difficulties. Prospective members were limited and few young adults were available for places of leadership. The plan permitted the continuation of the old church as long as a demand for it remains and at the same time allowed the church to extend its activities into the growing Arabi area on South Claiborne

Avenue. This is the first instance of the utilization of the Collegiate Plan by the Louisiana Presbyterian Church.²¹

Moves and Mergers

The historic sanctuary and site of the First Presbyterian Church in downtown New Orleans, facing Lafayette Square, were sold to the federal government in 1938. The congregation met in the Prytania Street Presbyterian Church until Easter Sunday, 1939, when the first service led by the pastor, Dr. Otis Trousdale, was held in the new sanctuary on South Claiborne Avenue in an uptown residential area near Tulane University. The pews and some of the furnishings of the old church were used in the new building, which also included a commodious educational unit.

Two historic Presbyterian Churches in New Orleans, the Prytania Street Church and the Napoleon Avenue Church, founded in 1846 and 1861 respectively, were merged on November 18, 1956. The combined churches formed the Church of the Covenant, of which the Rev. Walter D. Langtry, who was pastor of the Prytania Street Church at the time of the merger, became minister. The Church of the Covenant occupied the facilities of the Napoleon Avenue Church and the property and building of the Prytania Street Church were sold.²²

The Woodland Presbyterian Church was organized in Algiers, across the Mississippi River from New Orleans, in October, 1958. Members of the Algiers Presbyterian Church, which was dissolved, joined other Presbyterians who had recently moved into the community to form the new church.

The Salmon Gift

In 1957, Fred W. Salmon, a lumberman and investor from New Orleans, donated 44.7 acres of land near Fontainebleau

Park in St. Tammany Parish to the New Orleans Presbytery for use as a church camp site. The large site is on high land in pine woods approximately four miles from Bayou La-combe and four miles east of Mandeville with an access road to United States highway 190. The movement to obtain such a conference site was first initiated by Dr. John S. Land. The Presbytery allocated \$20,000 annually for three years, beginning in 1958, to improve the land and construct needed buildings.

On January 1, 1959, there were forty-two churches in the New Orleans Presbytery with 11,457 communicants, to whom forty-six minister should be added. Contributions for the year 1958 reached a total of \$1,118,222.

RED RIVER PRESBYTERY

ELEVEN ministers and thirty-one churches belonged to the Red River Presbytery at the inception of the Louisiana Synod in 1901.²³ There were fewer ministers in this Presbytery than in either of the others. Within a year, two pastors were installed and three were received into the Presbytery.²⁴ Due to the fact that the New Orleans Presbytery transferred sixteen churches to the Synod of Mississippi in 1902, the Red River Presbytery had at that time a larger number of churches than either of the other two presbyteries.

Missions

The Rev. J. T. Sailes, who had served as Synodical Evangelist in the Red River Presbytery from 1891 to 1895 and who in 1902 reported to the Presbytery concerning his labors in reviving the Trinity Church across the Ouachita River from Jonesville, is symbolic of the enthusiasm with which

Presbyterian ministers in Louisiana attacked the missionary problem confronting the church at this time. A commodious brick building, constructed in 1858 on ground donated by St. John R. Liddell, a Confederate general, was destroyed during the Civil War by gunfire from Federal boats. "I preached in an old bar room," said Sailes, "with the counter and fixtures still intact and held a few days meeting." His efforts resulted in the construction of a wooden church building and the revival of Trinity Church. Sailes traveled once per month for eight months in his buggy from Arcadia, where he was pastor, to minister to the struggling congregation. Seven days were required to make the round trip!²⁵ In 1902, the church had sixteen members, "mostly females," with one elder who lived twenty-five miles away.²⁶ In 1920, the church building was moved across the Ouachita River from Trinity to Jonesville to a site donated by Mrs. Rosa Jones, for whose family the town of Jonesville was named. A brick veneer edifice, with air-conditioning and central heating, erected in 1954, stands in sharp contrast to the bar room in which Sailes preached in 1888.²⁷ The church had a membership of forty-five in 1954.

The Rev. G. E. Chandler, evangelist for the Synod of Mississippi, spent considerable time in the Red River Presbytery between 1891 and 1901. He was deeply moved by the many struggling congregations he visited, like the church at Trinity, and the vast need for the erection of church buildings in areas where the local constituency alone was too weak to carry through a building program. Thus it was within the bounds of this Presbytery that he first conceived of a fund with which weak churches might be helped and houses of worship erected. In his honor, it was called "The Chandler Fund." The first contribution to this worthy plan

was made by H. H. Hargrove, a newspaper man in North Louisiana, who promised to give \$2.50 toward the building of each new church. Chandler and Hargrove then began to promote a plan by which each donor would agree to give \$1.00 for each new church building with a maximum of \$3.00 per year required. The first recorded gift of \$1.00 was from Mary C. Boutte of Louisiana.²⁸ As previously pointed out, the Chandler Fund was administered by the Synod of Louisiana until 1925, since which it has been in the hands of the presbyteries.

Prospects of "new plantations" and expanded railroad facilities elicited a note of optimism in the proceedings of the Presbytery in the 1890's and the early years of the twentieth century. The Red River Presbyterian Church, organized on Rush Point Plantation on July 18, 1897, became the Presbyterian Church of Belcher in 1901.²⁹ Church buildings were needed in Arcadia, Winnfield, Jena, and Natchitoches and plans were devised by which they might be realized.³⁰ Home missions were said to be "encouraging"³¹ and the plan of raising money through the "every member canvass" was approved.³² Work with young people was stressed and an evangelist was employed to organize and strengthen the Sunday schools, of which there were twenty in the Presbytery in 1913.³³

A glimpse at the work of the home missions committee is given in the *Minutes* of the Presbytery in 1938. The Tallulah Church, served by the Rev. H. N. Alexander, "in a rapidly developing section of the Presbytery," was singled out for whose offerings had "recently increased," were eagerly anticipating the coming of the Rev. Charles B. Robinson to serve as their minister. Churches at Winnsboro, Baskin, and Union were likewise happily looking forward to the coming

of the Rev. Norman Gibbs as pastor. The Trinity Church at Jonesville was showing signs of revival, after a period of decline, under the leadership of the Rev. Kenneth M. Stewart. Pastors were needed at Natchitoches, St. Joseph, and Waterproof. The church at Bossier City had expanded its facilities and was growing.³⁴

Concerning the "Sabbath"

"Patronizing the post office, reading the Sunday paper, and traveling on railroad trains" on the "Sabbath" were frowned upon by the Presbytery, which in 1904 found "desecration" of the "sacred day on the increase." The first reference in any Louisiana Presbyterian source to "automobile pleasure trips" on Sunday, which added to the secularization of the day of worship, appeared on October 14, 1913.³⁵ One year later, "auto races" on Sunday were mentioned as another counter attraction to the churches.³⁶ All of this suggests that the Sabbatarian emphasis which marked Presbyterian teaching was not taken seriously by a segment within the Church itself. Not only in south Louisiana, where Roman Catholic teaching concerning Sunday produced a somewhat lax attitude toward the "Puritan Sabbath," but also in north Louisiana, which was predominantly Protestant, the attitudes of increasingly large numbers of Presbyterians were undergoing a gradual change with respect to the austerities of Sabbatarian teaching. An adjustment of the Church itself to these changes came about almost imperceptibly. The twentieth century with its myriad mechanical marvels and miracles in electronics produced an undreamed of era whose communications and transportation facilities made a new world. The Church, which had been the center

of life outside the home for many of its members, became one community amid several communities bidding for the allegiance of the people. Some of the facets of Sabbath observance were wisely dropped by the design of the Church itself, which recognized some practices previously frowned upon on Sunday as immaterial to the real meaning of the day. But who can say with assurance that the rather relaxed attitude which many modern Christians assume toward Sunday is superior to the sense of sacredness and uniqueness which the "Sabbath" inspired in those of a bygone day?

The Laymen's Association of Red River Presbytery

On April 16, 1918, W. F. Taylor, an elder in the First Presbyterian Church in Shreveport, proposed the organization of a laymen's movement within the Red River Presbytery. This was done one month later. In the fall of that year, the Rev. B. C. Bell, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in McComb, Mississippi, was secured as laymen's evangelist. In 1922, he added the superintendency of home missions to his responsibility as evangelist.

Dr. Bell, who compiled a booklet entitled *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana to 1929*, labored indefatigably in his dual role, organizing new churches at Baskin, Winnsboro, Vivian, Cedar Grove, Westminster, Tallulah, Waterproof, Mangham (dissolved in 1936), Ferriday, Colfax, Bossier City, and Alden Bridge and promoting the work of the laymen. It is fitting to record here that B. C. Bell contributed greatly to the Presbyterian cause in North Louisiana. The Rev. W. F. O'Kelley said that Bell's work stood out "as one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of the presbytery."³⁷ His influence was widely extended due to the

statesmanlike manner in which he led the laymen's association, one of the oldest organizations of its kind in the Southern Presbyterian Church, and his work as a writer and missionary. In the first decade of his labor in the Presbytery, there was a net gain of 2,288 church members as compared to an increase of 46 in the previous ten years. The stimulus he gave to Presbyterians fired them with vision and courage and was a major factor in the growth in the churches. The last eight years of his useful career were spent as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Lafayette, Louisiana. His untimely death occurred in 1940.³⁸

It is proper to record here the contribution to the laymen's association by W. F. Taylor, its founder and first president.³⁹ For several years he personally supported a foreign missionary. Other laymen who played major roles in preparing for the laymen's association must be mentioned. H. K. Lineback, an elder in the Mansfield Church, served the Presbytery for many years as Sunday school field worker. John Glassel became so engrossed in the work of the church as a layman that he sought and was granted ordination to the Gospel ministry by the Presbytery. Others who deserve mention were S. F. Steere, S. T. Hatcher, and S. P. DuBois, the latter of whom became a minister. Still others who served in the early years of the laymen's association were C. E. Byrd of Shreveport, Frank B. Stubbs of Monroe, and Harman C. Drew of Minden.⁴⁰ The Hon. Robert F. Kennon, who served as governor of Louisiana from 1952 to 1956, was active in the laymen's movement in the Red River Presbytery and the state.

The Red River Presbyterian

On October 14, 1925, *The Red River Presbyterian*, a quarterly paper published by the Presbytery of Red River,

was launched. The first issue was devoted to home missions, a theme which constantly appears in the publication. It appeared for several years, was discontinued, and resumed publication on January 15, 1953, under the new name *Presbyfacts*. The new name was soon abandoned and the initial name resumed. A random sampling of issues of the paper indicates a sustained missionary concern. It is primarily a newspaper of activities of the churches in the Presbytery. Pictures of churches and church leaders, clerical and lay, are featured.

The problem of whether the paper should be continued was considered by the Presbytery at Delhi in 1954. The editor, the Rev. Palmer W. Deloteus, pointed out that the Synod's publication committee had agreed to subsidize the paper to the extent of contributing three cents per copy to each subscriber. The Presbytery voted to continue the paper.⁴¹ Churches were encouraged to use the pages of *The Red River Presbyterian* in lieu of publishing brochures on special anniversaries and to pay for the space used for specific projects. On special occasions the paper provides news of activities of the entire Synod.

An example of a common practice followed in the paper is a historical sketch, with pictures, of the Alabama Church, one of the historic churches in the Presbytery, which appeared in the September 15, 1953, issue: The front page displays a picture of the recently completed brick church building. Page five provides a picture of the old church erected in 1892 and an article "Alabama makes rich contribution to Presbyterian Church in U. S." The article stated that the church, which was a charter member of the Red River Presbytery, was organized under a brush arbor in the Sibley Community, five miles north of Choudrant in

October, 1853, composed of a colony of Presbyterians who migrated from the state of Alabama. The first pastor, the Rev. James H. Hall, built the first pulpit himself. The first benches were split logs. It is the largest rural church in the Presbytery. Eight of its members have entered the ministry, among whom was the Rev. D. L. O'Neal, moderator of the Louisiana Synod 1952-1953.⁴²

Camp Alabama

The first evidence of serious consideration of what became of Camp Alabama appears in the *Minutes* of the Presbytery on October 15, 1946. At that time the Religious Education Committee offered the following resolution: "That the presbytery take action looking forward to the selection of a camp site to be owned by the presbytery."⁴³ Prior to this time, the facilities of the defunct Silliman College, at Clinton, Louisiana in the Louisiana Presbytery, were used some, though travel restrictions during World War II made this difficult. In 1945, the Presbytery received a report from the Rev. T. E. Davis and the Rev. Earle Stevens concerning the possible use of a site on Caney Lake, near Minden, for a Pioneer Camp.⁴⁴ Conferences were held on Caney Lake for several years.

On April 20, 1948, the Presbytery approved the following report of the camp site committee: "That Presbytery approve the establishment of a Presbyterian camp for young people and that it be located at Alabama Church."⁴⁵ One month later, the committee met at the Alabama Church and drew up a report indicating that the land for the camp site would be donated by owners of the property near Alabama Church and that \$12,500 were needed to begin the

project, which would consist of, in addition to the construction of a lake costing \$3,500, twenty small cabins and equipment. The Presbytery authorized the building of the camp and took immediate steps to raise the requisite money from the churches.⁴⁶ The lake was constructed in the summer of 1948 and work was begun on roads and buildings, which were of a more permanent type than at first considered. Concrete and building blocks were used in constructing the cabins, each of which could accommodate twelve to sixteen persons. A chapel, store, dining hall, and kitchen (Hutton Hall) were erected and Camp Alabama opened for the first meeting of the Presbytery's Pioneer group in the summer of 1950. Since that time facilities have been steadily improved and Camp Alabama has been used each summer by a large group.

It is proper to record here a note of commendation for the members of the Alabama Church, who have worked unstintedly in behalf of this project. The erection of the camp would not have been possible without their gifts of time, energy, land, and money. "Genuine thanks and appreciation" were offered by the Presbytery in 1955 to the original camp site committee, of which the Rev. D. L. O'Neal was chairman, for the contribution it made to the successful culmination of the project.⁴⁷

The Vidalia Presbyterian Church was organized on September 15, 1957.⁴⁸ The Highland Presbyterian Church in West Monroe effected an organization on November 1, 1959.⁴⁹

There were fifty-one churches in the Red River Presbytery in 1959 with a total of 9,826 communicants. Forty-four ministers were on the roll of the Presbytery. Total contributions reached \$1,115,906.⁵⁰

LOUISIANA PRESBYTERY

TWELVE ministers and twenty-eight churches were affiliated with the Louisiana Presbytery in 1901 when it became a part of the Synod of Louisiana.⁵¹ Among these was the church at Alexandria, which was transferred to the Louisiana Presbytery from the Presbytery of Red River on October 15, 1891. There were fewer churches in this Presbytery than in either of the other two. This explains the reluctance of the Presbytery to transfer six member churches in the state of Mississippi to the new Synod of Mississippi. Another problem faced by this Presbytery was the scattered character of the churches except for those in the vicinity of Baton Rouge. "The intervals between services" in the smaller and somewhat isolated churches were sometimes so extended that it was difficult to maintain them.

Missionary Efforts

In the early 1880's, the Rev. F. W. Lewis and Elder L. E. Black of Opelousas drove a distance of about eighty miles every fifth Friday to minister to Presbyterians in Lake Charles, in extreme Southwest Louisiana, and specifically to conduct worship services on Sunday. The missionary efforts of these dedicated men bore fruit and the First Presbyterian Church in Lake Charles was organized on April 19, 1888, with eleven charter members. March, 1890, marked the dedication of a church building free of debt.

The church was led for a few years by supply ministers. The Rev. C. W. Lyman, who came as a part-time supply pastor in 1892, subsequently became the regular minister of the church, a position he retained until May, 1898, when he resigned to become a chaplain in the Spanish-American War.

The significant ministry of the Rev. J. Y. Allison began in May, 1900, when he became pastor of the Lake Charles Church. During Allison's twelve-year tenure as pastor, a manse was built, foreign and home missionary societies were organized, and plans were made for the erection of a new church building.⁵³ Thus in the early part of this century, a strong and growing church at Lake Charles provided a pivot for Presbyterianism in Southwest Louisiana. This church has continued its growth and in 1956 had 892 communicants, second in size in the Louisiana Presbytery to First Presbyterian Church in Baton Rouge with 2,401 members.⁵⁴

One of the most formidable issues which the Presbytery faced at the beginning of the century was the effort to reach people in the more remote parts of its bounds. One aspect of this problem was the community of French speaking people in south Louisiana. The Rev. Pierre Philippe Briol, Evangelist for the Synod of Louisiana and the New Orleans Presbytery, was secured to visit Calcasieu Parish to establish a French Presbyterian Church. This he did at Manchester, five miles southeast of Lake Charles on March 8, 1904. There were eighteen charter members "scattered over a farming district." Two elders and a deacon were ordained. This was the beginning of the Presbytery's efforts to establish permanent work among the French, "a work hitherto neglected."⁵⁵

Through the efforts of the Rev. W. A. Zeigler, evangelist for the Red River and Louisiana Presbyteries, a church was organized at DeRidder on March 5, 1904.⁵⁶ The next year, Rudolf Miller, a candidate for the ministry, was sent to DeRidder for a period of three months for the purpose of strengthening this struggling church. An epidemic of yellow fever prevented a follow-up of his work.⁵⁷ The church at

DeRidder was not sustained and, after sporadic efforts to keep it alive, finally became defunct. On Sunday, May 27, 1917, the First Presbyterian Church of DeRidder was organized. Apparently, this church was formed without reference to the earlier Presbyterian Church in DeRidder, because the church which was organized in 1917 received "twenty-two charter members."⁵⁸

Central Louisiana

The coming of the Rev. B. L. Price in 1894 to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church in Alexandria, organized in 1844 and reorganized in 1891 with twelve members, was a signal event for Presbyterianism in Central Louisiana. A church building was dedicated on October 22, 1899, an auspicious occasion on which the venerable Dr. B. M. Palmer preached the dedicatory sermon, having come from New Orleans through a yellow fever quarantine. Dr. Price not only led the Alexandria Church vigorously until 1927, but was instrumental in the reorganization of the Atchafalaya Church in 1895, the formation of the Presbyterian Church at Marksville in 1896, Bunkie in 1902, and Oakdale in 1915. He led in the erection of a church building in Alexandria, which was completed and dedicated on November 2, 1924. No wonder his parishioners presented him with a silver cup in 1925, expressing their "loving and grateful appreciation" for his service as pastor.⁵⁹

The Rev. D. F. Wilkinson

It is proper to take particular note of the career of the Rev. D. F. Wilkinson, who spent most of his ministry in the Presbytery of Louisiana. He was born at Raleigh, Mississippi, October 18, 1865, and died at his home in the Plains



The Old Church (1854-1926)
First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, La.

Community, Zachary, Louisiana, August 18, 1950, only two months short of his eighty-fifth birthday. Wilkinson was ordained by the Louisiana Presbytery, October 18, 1896, and immediately became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Crowley, which had been organized on August 3, 1890.⁶⁰ During the forty-four years of his active ministry he served the following churches: Crowley, 1896-1902; Baker and stated supply at Woodville, Mississippi, 1903-1904; The Plains from 1904 to his retirement in 1940, when he became pastor emeritus; the Baker Church, 1904-1932, as stated supply. He was stated clerk of the Louisiana Presbytery from 1913 to 1940 and moderator of the Louisiana Synod in 1913.

Tribute was paid him in the *Minutes* of the Presbytery on May 15, 1950. Among the attributes for which he is remembered by his parishioners, the most significant is probably the description of him as "always a kind friend," closely followed by "a rare sense of humor."

Wilkinson's leadership in the Presbytery is evidenced throughout the *Minutes*, in which he occupies a prominent place. He was always willing to serve. His name appears in connection with all aspects of the life of the Church.⁶¹

The St. Francisville Church

One of the historic churches in Louisiana, the Presbyterian Church at St. Francisville, organized in 1828, sought to withdraw from the Louisiana Presbytery on November 8, 1952 and sell its property. The Judicial Commission of the Presbytery took the view that the effort of the church to dispose of its property to private individuals was unconstitutional.⁶² Thus a controversy ensued between the Presbytery and the St. Francisville Church.

The Judicial Commission sought without success to get members of the St. Francisville Church to appear before it in Baton Rouge on two occasions. On July 14, 1954, the Commission dissolved the church.⁶³ The Presbytery shared the view of the Commission.⁶⁴ This brought to an end the history of one of the oldest Presbyterian churches in the state, founded in 1828.

New Churches

The Jackson Street Presbyterian Church was organized in Alexandria, on October 16, 1955,⁶⁵ and the Broadmoor Presbyterian Church was formed on April 29, 1956,⁶⁶ in Baton Rouge. These new churches symbolize the growth of Presbyterianism in suburbia, a pattern evident in all cities in the state. In 1959, the Denham Springs Presbyterian Church and the St. Andrews Presbyterian Church at Baker were organized.

The statistical report of the Louisiana Presbytery to the General Assembly for 1959 revealed a total of thirty churches, 9,854 communicants, thirty-three ministers, and total contributions of \$1,011,654.⁶⁷

GROWTH OF PRESBYTERIANISM

THE Synod of Louisiana is one of the smaller synods in the Church, geographically and numerically. The first statistical report, which appears in the *Minutes* of the initial meeting of the Synod, indicates there were forty-seven ministers and one hundred and five churches.⁶⁸ This number was reduced in 1902 because sixteen churches were at that time transferred to the Synod of Mississippi since they were in the state of Mississippi and had been placed in the Synod of Missis-

sippi by the General Assembly. In 1902, one new church was added to the Synod; there were ninety churches and forty-three ministers at that time.⁶⁹ In 1908, there were one hundred churches.⁷⁰ Two years later, a slight decline may be noted in the number of churches in the Synod. This was in some measure due to the loss of six churches which were transferred from the Louisiana Presbytery to the Presbytery of Mississippi in 1909. The Committee on the Narrative on the State of Religion said that attendance at public worship in the churches was "fairly good, and in some cases increasing." The dearth of "family worship" was recorded and "worldly conformity" was noted on the part of some. "Ordinary normal progress" was said to characterize the church for the past year.⁷¹

By 1923, there were one hundred and six churches and sixty-one ministers in the Synod. The Presbytery of Louisiana had twenty-seven churches, the Presbytery of New Orleans forty-two, and the Presbytery of Red River thirty-seven.⁷² By 1925, the number of churches had increased to one hundred and thirteen and the total communicants were 13,929.⁷³ Twelve years later, a decline may be noted in the number of churches. There were ninety-seven compared to one hundred and thirteen in 1925.⁷⁴ There were two less churches in 1942 but the total membership in the churches of the Synod reached 18,520.⁷⁵ The next five years witnessed steady growth. In 1948, there were one hundred and six churches with a total membership of 21,479.⁷⁶ These figures had increased in 1957 to one hundred and thirty-three churches with a combined membership of 29,133.⁷⁷

It is evident that following a time of decline and then a period when the Presbyterian Church in Louisiana seemed to be on a plateau with reference to expansion in the 1930's

and early 1940's Louisiana Presbyterianism came into an era of growth. Increasing emphasis upon Evangelism and missions as well as church extension are reasons for this encouraging upturn. A careful examination of the *Minutes* of the meeting of the Synod in 1957 reveals this emphasis upon extending the witness of the church:

(1) The Committee on Church Extension, of which Dr. John S. Land was chairman, reported at the beginning of the Synod and issued a challenge for deeper dedication to extending the blessings of the Gospel by building new churches. An Assembly-wide movement encouraging people to dedicate one day's pay for this purpose was commended as was the *Presbyterian Survey*, the official magazine of the Presbyterian Church, United States. Dr. Land's report ended with a note of urgency: "In view of the great business and industrial expansion of our southland and our state in particular, we urge the subcommittees on Evangelism, Home Missions, and Strategy to press forward in their work with the utmost vigor."⁷⁸

(2) The report on world missions contained a survey of what was being done—contributions from the whole Southern Church in 1956 reached \$3,465,939.91—and made several recommendations, all of which stressed the missionary imperative at home and abroad. Evangelism was emphasized "as the specific business of each individual Christian."⁷⁹

(3) The chairmen of Committees on Evangelism in the presbyteries were asked to report on their work. Extra time was allowed for these reports.⁸⁰

(4) The Synod's Council recommended that a special Easter offering be received in 1958 "for the alleviation of

suffering and need in the name of Christ throughout the world.”⁸¹

There were 105 churches in the Synod at the time of its organization in 1901. In 1902, sixteen churches were transferred from the Louisiana to the Mississippi Synod and seven years later six more churches were lost to the Synod in the same manner. This resulted in a loss of twenty-two churches. Thus the gain from the beginning of the history of the Synod from one hundred and five in 1901 to one hundred and twenty-three in 1959 is a gain of eighteen churches. This means that more than fifty new churches have been organized in the Synod since its inception because a total of twenty-two churches were lost to the Mississippi Synod in 1902 and 1909 and several have been dissolved. Total communicants have increased from 6,354 in 1902, which included the members of six churches that were transferred to the Synod of Mississippi in 1909, to 31,137 in 1959. Thus, though the number of churches in the Synod has increased by only eighteen between 1901 and 1959, the total membership increased more than five times in that same period. More than 12,000 communicants have been added in the fifteen years ending in 1959. Growth has been solid though not spectacular.

Let it be recorded, however, that the impact of a church upon the culture in which it lives cannot be calculated adequately in quantitative terms, though size is not unimportant, but in terms of its qualitative contributions. Life's most significant dimensions are difficult to measure but the historian who studies Louisiana Presbyterian history lays down his pen with the conclusion that the major gifts of the Presbyterian Church in the state are in the realm of moral and spiritual

values. Contributions to Christian culture and education abound. Early Presbyterian ministers and churches played a large role in civilizing the Louisiana frontier. Steady stress upon education in church and school and an insistence upon an educated ministry gave Presbyterianism a thrust throughout the state that made it a significant moral and spiritual factor.

Whether by an obscure colporteur, distributing books and tracts in communities off the beaten track, or a massive figure like Dr. B. M. Palmer, at home in the counsels of the mighty, Presbyterianism was woven into the life of Louisiana. Whether by a business man or a school teacher known largely in his own church alone or former Judge Carlos Spadt or Governor Robert Kennon (1952-1956), laymen widely known, the Presbyterian Church has been projected into the larger community.

The heritage of Louisiana Presbyterianism has been traced, a heritage of courage and sacrifice. Let those who make up its churches and homes, those who give themselves gladly as deacons and elders, those who occupy the sacred desks, those who seek in office, shop, and countryside to be faithful to its precepts, draw strength from this noble past for the "grand and awful time" which lies before us today and tomorrow.

FOOTNOTES

Footnotes

Chapter I

1. See Samuel Wilson, Jr., editor, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans by Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931, p. 36. Wilson says Larned was "a graduate of Princeton." However, he never attended Princeton College and did not complete his divinity studies at Princeton Theological Seminary. See letter of J. H. Dulles to Louis Voss, September 30, 1930, in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans and Adjacent Points*, compiled by Louis Voss. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1931, pp. 21-22.

2. Letter of Sylvester Larned to the Rev. Dr. Post, October 14, 1817, in R. R. Gurley, *Life and Eloquence of the Rev. Sylvester Larned*. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1844, p. 51.

3. See B. B. Edwards, *Memoir of the Rev. Elias Cornelius*. Boston: Perkins, Marvin, and Co., 1834, pp. 58-59. Cornelius must have seen Larned at Princeton in mid-June, 1817. He left Philadelphia on his way South on June 20.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 58, 61.

5. Letter of Larned to Elias Cornelius, July 7, 1817, in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 45.

6. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1817*. The *Minutes of the General Assembly* for 1816 indicate that the Rev. Ezra Fisk was appointed to serve New Orleans as a missionary for four months. Gillett, without documentation, says Fisk was in New Orleans in 1816. See E. H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1873, Vol. II, revised edition, p. 374.

7. Letter of Larned to Post, October 14, 1817, in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 51.

8. Theodore Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches and Recollections During Thirty-Five Years' Residence in New Orleans*. Boston: Phillips, Tampon, and Co., 1857, pp. 43-48.

9. See Joseph B. Stratton, *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain*. New Orleans: T. Rea, 1852. Chamberlain founded the Presbyterian Church at Jackson, Louisiana, in 1828, and served as president of Oakland College, a Presbyterian school near Rodney, Mississippi, from 1830 until his death in 1851.

10. Letters of Larned to Elias Cornelius, October 11, 1817; to Post, October 14; to his sister, November 22, 1817; to his brother, December 12, 1817; to a friend later in December, 1817; in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, pp. 50-54, 62. See

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C. A. Hyland, "The Founders of Presbyterianism in New Orleans," *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 21. Hyland erred in stating that Larned probably "joined Dr. Chamberlain at Gettysburg" and traveled with him to Pittsburgh, "where they embarked for New Orleans."

11. Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 62. The first steamboat to reach New Orleans arrived eight years before, January 12, 1812.

12. Letter of Cornelius to Mr. Willis, March 30, 1819, in *Religious Intelligencer*, Vol. III, No. 44, p. 743. See Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. II, p. 374. Gillett gives December, 1816, as the time of Cornelius' arrival in New Orleans. This is clearly erroneous. W. E. Posey has followed him in this. See W. B. Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest*. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1952, p. 115.

13. Cornelius, "Diary," in Edwards, *Elias Cornelius*, p. 99.

14. "Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Missionary Society" in *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 6, June, 1814, p. 285.

15. Samuel J. Mills, in "Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Missionary Society," *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 61, June, 1814, p. 285.

16. John F. Schermerhorn, in "Report of the Trustees of Massachusetts Society," *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 61, June, 1814, p. 285.

17. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. II, p. 373. See letter of Samuel P. Robbins to Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, in *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine and Religious Intelligencer*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, February, 1815, p. 62 and in *ibid.*, March, 1815, pp. 101-103. It is possible that Samuel J. Mills returned to New Orleans with Smith. Also letter from New Orleans to the editor of the *Religious Intelligencer*, Vol. I, No. 3, June 15, 1816, p. 48. This letter indicates the prayer meeting was still being held, without a minister, in 1816.

18. Letter of William B. Johnson to the Savannah Religious Tract Society, May 16, 1817, in *The Christian Herald*, Vol. IV, No. 1, September 27, 1817, pp. 29-31. Johnson, president of the (Baptist) Triennial Convention, visited New Orleans early in 1817 and attended the meeting mentioned above. He also preached in behalf of the Female Orphan Society to "hundreds" in the St. Louis Cathedral!

19. Elisha Bowman was discouraged at his failure to establish a church but an anonymous New Orleanian observed: "The Methodists will never give the city up as long as their itinerants can get a cowhide for a bed to sleep on and sweet potatoes to eat." The Baptists, after several unsuccessful efforts beginning in December, 1816, with Ranaldson's visit, finally managed to organize a permanent church December 28, 1843. See C. Penrose St. Amant, *A Short History of Louisiana Baptists*. Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1948, pp. 18-20. A Baptist church organized by Benjamin Davis in 1818 did not survive.

20. Cornelius, "Diary," in Edwards, *Elias Cornelius*, pp. 96-98. Thomas Jefferson believed New Orleans would become "the greatest city the world has

ever seen." See *Boston Recorder*, Vol. IX, No. 38, p. 150. Estimates of the future size of the city were based upon the assumption that water transport would continue to carry the bulk of produce and freight. The Mississippi drains more than 1,400,000 square miles. B. H. B. Latrobe, who arrived in New Orleans on January 9, 1819, said, "New Orleans has at first sight a very imposing and handsome appearance, beyond any city in the United States in which I have yet been." Samuel Wilson, Jr., editor, *Benjamin H. Latrobe*, p. 18.

21. Hodding and Betty Werlein Carter, *So Great a Good, A History of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana and of Christ Church Cathedral, 1805-1955*. Sewanne, Tennessee: The University Press, 1955, pp. 7-10.

22. Joseph A. Maybin, "Reminiscences," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 55.

23. Cornelius, "Diary," in Edwards, *Elias Cornelius*, p. 99.

24. *Minutes of the Congregation of the First Presbyterian Church*, New Orleans, February 9, 1818, unpublished MS, Historical Foundation Collection, Montreat, North Carolina, pp. 1-2.

25. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1818, p. 4.

26. Joseph Walton provided \$300 without interest for one year—after that time 6 percent!

27. *Minutes of First Presbyterian Church*, New Orleans, pp. 9, 12, 14. The record book of the subscriptions made in handwriting is preserved in the Historical Foundation in Montreat, North Carolina. The same little book records the promise of P. K. Wagner "to do all the advertising for the Presbyterian Church *gratis*, February 1818," p. 11.

28. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1819, pp. 30, 47-48.

29. Letter of Larned to the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, March, 1818, in *Christian Herald*, Vol. V, No. 218, July 18, 1818, pp. 229-230.

30. Cornelius, "Diary," in Edwards, *Elias Cornelius*, p. 104.

31. Letter of Larned to Cornelius, April 25, 1818, in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 67. Cornelius left New Orleans for a visit to New England, April 2, 1818, stopping briefly in Natchez, Mississippi, to which the above letter was addressed.

32. Letter of Larned to Board of Missions in *Christian Herald*, Vol. V, No. 218, July 18, 1818, p. 229.

33. See Gibson, *New Orleans Guide and Directory* (1838), p. 308, cited by Wilson, ed., *Benjamin H. Latrobe*, p. 71. Gibson said the church, including the land, cost \$70,000. He illustrated and described the edifice in the work mentioned above.

34. *Minutes of First Presbyterian Church*, New Orleans, April 14, 1818, p. 15.

35. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1819, p. 27.

36. Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 71.

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37. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 76. Wilson cites the *Records of the City Council*, which indicate the Council lent the First Presbyterian Church \$5,000. Wilson, ed., *Benjamin H. Latrobe*, p. 73.

38. *Boston Recorder*, Vol. IV, No. 7, February 13, 1819, p. 27.

39. *Boston Recorder*, Vol. IV, No. 21, May 28, 1819, p. 87.

40. Letter of Larned to Post, January, 1820, in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 83.

41. Letter of Larned to Cornelius, July 15, 1820, in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 86.

42. *Minutes of First Presbyterian Church*, New Orleans, January 19, 1819, p. 29.

43. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1820, pp. 52-53.

44. B. M. Palmer, "The Origin and Growth of Presbyterianism in the City of New Orleans," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 42.

45. Letter from Larned to Cornelius, January 25, 1820, in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 81.

46. Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, p. 71.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

49. People who had become accustomed to the climate, strangely enough, seldom contracted yellow fever.

50. Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, p. 72. Dr. Davidson, who attended Larned in his illness, reported this to Clapp.

51. On the day before Larned's death, Benjamin H. B. Latrobe, who died in the same epidemic a few days later, wrote to his wife, "I went as far as Dr. Learned's [sic] who continues ill, under mercurial treatment. I fear we may lose him." Wilson, ed., *Benjamin H. Latrobe*, p. 36.

52. Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, p. 75.

53. Maybin, "Reminiscences," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 55.

54. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, August 27, 1841, p. 123. "Resolved . . . that the name of their first pastor, Rev. S. Larned is still dear to this church and his bones are in the custody of the session, that they be deposited under the monument erected to his memory and standing in front of this church."

55. Maybin, "Reminiscences," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 55.

56. Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, pp. 87-88.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Larned, "Sermons," in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, pp. 129-412.

61. Larned, "Divine Law Inexorable," in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 387. This sermon is explicitly directed against universalism. John Duffy holds the view that "Larned shaped a good part of Clapp's thinking." See John Duffy, ed., *Parson Clapp of the Stranger's Church of New Orleans*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: L.S.U. Press, 1957, p. 10.

62. Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, pp. 26-29, 62. Clapp spoke of the invitation "to succeed Mr. Larned as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in New Orleans." Actually, he did not become pastor but "stated supply."

63. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 84.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 93

69. "Priscus," "On the Lawfulness and Expediency of Lotteries," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 3, March, 1811, p. 104.

70. *The Christian Spectator*, No. 4, April, 1826, pp. 196-198. See *Minutes of General Assembly*, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., 1818, p. 690, where lotteries were regarded as wrong. In 1830, the General Assembly declared that "all lotteries should be discountenanced by every professed member of the Presbyterian Church as immoral in their nature. . . ." See *Minutes of the General Assembly*, Philadelphia, June 3, 1830, p. 306.

71. B. M. Palmer, "Was the First Presbyterian Church Built with Lottery Money?" in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 64-65.

72. Letter of Larned to Cornelius, January 22, 1818, in Gurley, *Sylvester Larned*, p. 61.

73. Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, pp. 112-113.

74. "An Account of the Organization of the First Presbyterian Church in the Parish and City of New Orleans," November 25, 1823, pp. 1-2, MS, Historical Foundation, Montreat, North Carolina.

75. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, pp. 7-8.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

77. Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, p. 161.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-161.

79. The College of Orleans, which was opened in 1805, struggled along precariously until March 31, 1826, when lack of funds forced it to close. Clapp was chosen president to "Americanize" the school. See Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, p. 155.

80. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, pp. 6, 11-13.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 41, May 21, 1828.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63, May 23, 1828.

83. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, Natchez, Mississippi: Andrew Marschalk, 1828, October 8, 1828.

84. Anonymous letter in *Boston Recorder and Telegraph*, Vol. XI, No. 9, p. 34.

85. Letter from "Justice" in *Boston Recorder and Telegraph*, Vol. XI, No. 32, p. 125.

86. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, June 23, 1828, and July 11, 1828, pp. 74, 105.

87. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, June 4, 1830, p. 308.

88. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, April 1, 1832, p. 205.

89. Letter of Clapp to George Potts in *Extracts from the Records of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, Natchez, Mississippi: R. Semple, 1832, April 10, 1830, pp. 12-14.

90. *Extracts from the Records of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, April 10, 1830, p. 15.

91. Letter of Clapp to Moderator of the Presbytery of Mississippi, April 18, 1830, in *Extracts from Records of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, pp. 16-56.

92. *Extracts from Records of the Mississippi Presbytery*, pp. 17-20.

93. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, December 5, 1830, p. 154.

94. *Extracts from Records of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, October 14, 1831, p. 51.

95. *Minutes of the General Assembly*, June 4, 1831, p. 340.

96. *Extracts from Records of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, October 14, 1831 pp. 48-49, 56-59.

97. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, April 1, 1832, pp. 201-203. On this date there were seventy-four members.

98. J. R. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences, Sketches, and Addresses*. Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1874, p. 17.

99. *Reasons for the Decision of the Presbytery of Mississippi in the Case of Mr. Theodore Clapp*. Natchez, Mississippi: 1833.

100. Theodore Clapp, *A Report of the Trial of the Rev. Theodore Clapp before the Presbytery of Mississippi at Their Sessions in May and December, 1832*, New Orleans: 1832, especially pp. 342-372. See Duffy, ed., *Parson Clapp of the Stranger's Church*, pp. 29-30.

101. W. E. Grafton, *History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi*, unpublished MS, 1927, Historical Foundation, Montreat, North Carolina, p. 251; Frances Allen Cabaniss and James Allen Cabaniss, "Religion in Ante-Bellum Mississippi," *The Journal of Mississippi History*, Vol. VI, No. 4, October, 1944, pp. 215-217. The author is deeply indebted to this article for a succinct statement of the trial

of Theodore Clapp and is particularly grateful for the delightful story about the meeting of Potts, Chase, and Clapp and the lasting friendship which ensued. See also B. M. Palmer, "The Origin and Growth of Presbyterianism in the City of New Orleans," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 45. And see also *Reasons for the Decision of the Presbytery of Mississippi in the Case of Mr. Theodore Clapp*. And Theodore Clapp, *Theological Views*. Boston: 1859.

102. Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches*, pp. 175-176.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

104. Perhaps the church of which Clapp became pastor in 1833 should be considered Unitarian from the beginning. It is recognized as Unitarian by Unitarians in New Orleans who celebrated the 125th Anniversary of "the First Unitarian Church" in 1958. See *Times Picayune*, New Orleans, Louisiana: February 22, 1958.

105. Quoted by Carter and Carter, *So Great a Good*, pp. 27-28.

106. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, January 12, 1833, p. 1.

107. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1834, pp. 28-29. See *Louisiana Advertiser*, November 15, 1834.

108. *Session Minutes*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, December 15, 1834, "Protest of the Presbyterian Congregation of New Orleans," p. 30.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

110. *Records of the Presbytery of Amite*, Carmel Church, Natchez, Mississippi, March 27, 1835, Vol. I, p. 14, MS in Historical Foundation, Montreat, North Carolina.

111. *Records of the Presbytery of Amite*, October 22, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.

112. *Records of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, New Bethany Church, Louisiana, December 9, 1839, p. 143. See *New Orleans Observer*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1839.

113. See Joel Parker, *The Annual Discourse before the Synod of New York and New Jersey*. New York: John A. Gray, 1862.

114. See C. Penrose St. Amant, "The Rise and Early Development of the Princeton School of Theology," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Edinburgh University, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1952, pp. 190-194.

115. *Records of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. I, New Bethany Church, Louisiana, October 21, 1837, pp. 95-97.

116. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*. March 2 and August 9, 1822, Bayou Pierre Church, pp. 6-7.

117. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Book I, p. 3.

118. *A Sketch of the Proceedings of the Missionary Society of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, Pine Ridge, Mississippi, March 9, 1822, in *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi, 1820-1824*. Natchez: Andrew Marschalk, 1829, pp. 22-23.

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119. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Book I, p. 5.
120. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, 1827, p. 3.
121. See Joseph B. Stratton, *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain*. New Orleans: T. Rea, 1852.
122. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, pp. 6-7.
123. *Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, January 28, 1892, p. 3.
124. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, pp. 6-7.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
127. *Ibid.*
128. *Ibid.*
129. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
130. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 17.
131. Carter and Carter, *So Great a Good*, p. 21.
132. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 22.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
134. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 18. See his "Personal Reminiscences," pp. 7-20.
135. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Book II, pp. 1-5.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 7. See J. B. Stratton, "Death of the Rev. James Purviance, D.D., in Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, pp. 248-250.
137. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Book II, p. 23.
138. Stratton, *et al.*, "James Purviance," in Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, pp. 249-250.
139. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Book II, p. 32.
140. During this period the title "Bishop" was frequently used in the Presbytery of Mississippi to designate a teaching elder.
141. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Book II, p. 79.
142. *Ibid.*, Book III, p. 11.
143. *Ibid.*, Book III, p. 79.

Chapter II

1. [J. R. Hutchinson], "Beginnings of Presbyterianism in the Southwest," in *Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. II, No. 50, February 2, 1871, p. 1 and Vol. II, No. 51, February 9, 1871, p. 1.
2. Louis Voss, "The First Protestants in Louisiana," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 7-9.
3. See Frances Allen Cabaniss and James Allen Cabaniss, "Religion in Antebellum Mississippi," in *The Journal of Mississippi History*, Vol. VI, 1944, pp. 194-195; C. Penrose St. Amant, *A Short History of Louisiana Baptists*. Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1948, Chapter 2.
4. T. L. Haman, "Beginnings of Presbyterians in Mississippi," in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, Vol. X, 1909, p. 206.
5. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, March 4, 1824, p. 9. Here "Friendship Church" is mentioned. See p. 37, where sixteen members are listed and John Patterson is given as the minister.
6. Grafton, *History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi*, p. 29.
7. J. R. Hutchinson believed that Bethel Church continued. "The church has never become extinct," he said, "but exists at this time (1874) in an enlarged form and in a contiguous locality under another name." See Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 17. See also Allen Cabaniss, *Life and Thought of a Country Preacher*. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1942, p. 141. Cabaniss, following C. W. Grafton in his unpublished *History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi*, p. 21 ff., says "in 1822 Bethel was dissolved and the members transferred to Harmony Church, which was also subsequently dissolved and the members transferred to Ebenezer. The church building still stands (1942) and is used by a Negro congregation."
8. Cabaniss, following Grafton, says that the Bayou Pierre Church was also dissolved and the members went to Port Gibson and a second Bethel Church near the old Oakland College. Both churches are still active. See Cabaniss, *Life and Thought of a Country Preacher*, p. 141. On Presbyterian beginnings in the Southwest, see Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, pp. 234-235; Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest*, p. 183; and Thomas L. Haman, "Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi," in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, Vol. X, 1909, pp. 216-218.
9. Grafton, *History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi*, p. 33; Cabaniss, *Life and Thought of a Country Preacher*, p. 141. See Anabel Power, *Pages from an Old Scrap Book in Jackson Daily News*, March 26, 1950. There is some uncertainty about these dates.
10. Conversation between the Rev. Robert M. McGehee, pastor of the Pine Grove Presbyterian Church, and the author, December, 1956.
11. Daniel Smith, "A missionary from the General Assembly sat in Presbytery only as corresponding member." *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, March 6, 1816, pp. 3-5.

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12. The six churches were Bethel, Bayou Pierre, Pine Ridge, Bethany, Amite, and Ebenezer. Grafton added to these six churches a seventh, "Florida Church" near St. Francisville in Louisiana, which was not organized until 1828.
13. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, August 31, 1816, p. 20.
14. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi, 1853*, p. 86. See *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, p. 4.
15. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi, 1824*, p. 7.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.
19. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, April 2, 1828, Port Gibson, Mississippi, pp. 10-11.
20. *Ibid.*, 1824, p. 7.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-17.
22. See Anabel Power, newspaper clipping, Historical Foundation, Montreat, North Carolina.
23. Alfred Hennen, "Report of the Louisian Bible Society," in *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. III, No. 7, July, 1815, p. 276.
24. *Boston Recorder*, Vol. III, No. 33, August 16, 1823, p. 131.
25. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, April 1, 1829, p. 31.
26. Letter of D. D. Chestnut to the American Home Mission Society in *The Home Missionary*, Vol. III, No. 4, August 1, 1830, p. 80.
27. *Religious Intelligencer*, Vol. I, No. 3, June 15, 1816, p. 48.
28. *Boston Recorder*, Vol. VIII, No. 16, April 19, 1823, p. 63.
29. *The Christian Spectator*, No. 11, November, 1826, p. 605.
30. *Religious Intelligencer*, Vol. XII, No. 6, July 17, 1827, p. 94.
31. Wilson, ed., *Henry Boneval Latrobe*, p. 36.
32. Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Past Ten Years*. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, and Co., 1826, p. 289.
33. Letter of Forty Inhabitants of Ascension and Iberville Parishes to the American Home Mission Society in *The Home Missionary*, Vol. I, No. 6, October 1, 1828, p. 92.
34. Letter of D. D. Chestnut to the Editor of *The Home Missionary*, Vol. III, 1830, p. 81.
35. Letter of anonymous writer to American Home Mission Society in *The Home Missionary*, Vol. II, September, 1829, p. 30.
36. *The Home Missionary*, Vol. VI, No. 9, p. 157. From May, 1832, to April, 1834, there is one reference to Louisiana in this magazine, a monthly publication.

37. Report of Executive Committee of Missions of the Synod of Mississippi, *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, 1838*, pp. 33-38.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-50.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. Letter of Stuart O. Landry to C. Penrose St. Amant, March 9, 1957.
43. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, New Orleans, Vol. I, March 20, 1843, p. 335. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, October 18, 1839, Forest Church, p. 102.
44. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Opelousas, Louisiana, October 20, 1942, p. 20.
45. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, Port Gibson, Mississippi, April 2, 1828, pp. 10-11.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
47. *Ibid.*, 1824, p. 37.
48. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1823, "A Sketch of the Proceedings of the Missionary Society of the Presbytery of Mississippi," pp. 31-32.
49. Grafton, *A History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi*, p. 31. See Joseph B. Stratton, "History of the Presbytery of Mississippi," in *Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXII, No. 40, October 30, 1890, p. 1. Stratton, whom Grafton evidently followed, wrote that "in 1811 he [Smylie] removed to Amite County [Mississippi], and organized the Bethany and Amite Churches and the Florida Church near Jackson, Louisiana. . . ."
50. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, January 13, 1823, "A Sketch of the Proceedings of the Missionary Society of the Presbytery of Mississippi," pp. 31-32; *Extracts*, 1824, p. 37; *The Christian Spectator*, Vol. I, No. IX, September, 1827, p. 501.
51. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, April 2, 1828, pp. 10-11.
52. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Amite*, Vol. I, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, October 20, 1836, p. 45. See *Look to the Rock, One-Hundred Ante-Bellum Presbyterian Churches*, photographs by Carl Julien and Daniel W. Hollis. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961, pp. 113, 142.
53. H. B. Price, *Highlights of History*, First Presbyterian Church, Alexandria, Louisiana, January 17, 1954, in "Service of Dedication."
54. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, August 29, 31, 1816, pp. 11, 14.
55. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, Vol. II, pp. 377-378. Gillett failed to document this episode.
56. *Ibid.*

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57. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, May 20, 1820, p. 4.
58. Flint, *Recollections of the Past Ten Years*, p. 323.
59. J. E. Kirkpatrick, *John Timothy Flint, Pioneer Missionary, Author and Editor, 1780-1840*. Cleveland: H. Clark Company, 1911, p. 164.
60. Anonymous letter to American Home Mission Society in *The Home Missionary*, Vol. II, No. 5, September 1, 1829, p. 80.
61. Kirkpatrick, *John Timothy Flint*, p. 232.
62. *Western Monthly Review*, Vol. II, p. 697. Cited by Kirkpatrick, *John Timothy Flint*, p. 193.
63. *Home Missionary*, Vol. II, No. 1, September, 1829, p. 80.
64. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, St. Francisville, Louisiana, March 20, 1844, Vol. II, p. 6.
65. *Ibid.*, Alexandria, Louisiana, Vol. II, March 18-24, 1846, pp. 36-49.
66. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama, 1829*, Mayhew, Choctaw Nation, Mississippi, November 11, 1829, p. 5.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
69. *Ibid.*, Port Gibson, Mississippi, October 29-31, 1834, p. 37.
70. Letter from First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, to the Presbytery of Louisiana in *Records of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Louisiana Institute, October 10, 1837, p. 95.
71. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, Natchez, Mississippi, October 28, 1835.

Chapter III

1. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama*, October 31, 1834, p. 37. The boundaries of the Presbytery of Amite were extended on October 29, 1835, to include the territory east of Pearl River in the state of Mississippi.
2. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Amite*, March 16, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 3-4.
3. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1837, p. 59. Robert S. Finley was listed as "stated supply" at Pine Grove in the *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi* on October 28, 1835.
4. *Ibid.*, October 21, 1836, p. 46.
5. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, December, 1844, p. 13.
6. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, New Orleans, Vol. IV, April 14, 1847, p. 103.
7. *Ibid.*, New Orleans, Vol. I, March 15, 1843, p. 308.
8. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. V, p. 24. The date given in the *Minutes of the Presbytery*, 1849, differs from the date given in "History of the Covington Church," which is given as 1848.

9. Kirkpatrick, *John Timothy Flint*, p. 157.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
11. Flint, *Recollections of the Past Ten Years*, p. 157.
12. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Amite*, Vol. I, pp. 4-5.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.
14. *Ibid.*, Carmel Church, Natchez, Mississippi, March 27, 1835, p. 21.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
17. *Ibid.*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, March 16, 1836, p. 32.
18. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, Natchez, Mississippi, October 26, 1836, p. 11.
19. In 1843, the Presbytery of Louisiana admonished a ministerial candidate to study the work of Francis Turretin in preparation for his examination. See *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. I, September 28, 1843, p. 360. Turretin's thought was brought to America largely by Charles Hodge. This is a further indication of the link between Louisiana Presbyterianism and Princeton Theological Seminary.
20. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Plains Church, March 21, 1850, pp. 64-65.
21. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Amite*, March 21, 1836, New Orleans, p. 33.
22. *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi*, October 19, 1836, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
23. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Amite*, March 21, 1836, New Orleans, p. 39.
24. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Mantua, near Carmel Church, Vol. I, October 19, 1838, p. 130.
25. Lewis G. Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union, 1861-1869*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1932, pp. 27-28. See R. L. Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion*. New York: 1864, pp. 468-469. Also see *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, 1853, p. 279. In 1831, *The American Repository and Colonial Journal* reported an act passed by the Legislature of Louisiana "prohibiting under severe penalties the introduction of slaves into the state for sale." Vol. VII, December, 1831.
26. James Smylie, *A Review of a Letter from the Presbytery of Chillicothe to the Presbytery of Mississippi on the Subject of Slavery*, Woodville, Mississippi: 1836.
27. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, 1835 See *New Orleans Observer*, December 12, 1835.
28. See Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion*, p. 174.
29. *Southern Presbyterian*, April 20, 1861, cited by Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union*, p. 31. Perhaps the writer, described

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by the editor of the paper as a "gentleman occupying a high level position in the Confederacy," was later a general in the Confederate Army.

30. Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Southwest*, p. 82.
31. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi, 1834.*
32. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, New Orleans, March 16, 1843, p. 317.
33. *Ibid.*, New Orleans, April 5, 1845, p. 34.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
38. Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union*, p. 406.
39. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, Holly Springs, Mississippi, October 28, 1846.
40. *The African Repository and Colonial Journal*, Vol. XXIII, 1847, pp. 46-48.
41. *Records of the Presbytery of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1854.*
42. *Records of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., 1854.*
43. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Baton Rouge, March 1, 1850, p. 86.
44. *Ibid.*, Plaquemine, Louisiana, March 23, 1855, p. 242.
45. Letter of Daniel Baker to Walter Lowrie, February 18, 1840.
46. *Minutes of the First Presbyterian Church*, New Orleans.
47. Secretary of the Provisional Directory of the Congregation, quoted by T. R. Markham, "The Lafayette Presbyterian Church," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 164.
48. T. R. Markham, "The Lafayette Presbyterian Church," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 164-165, 169. It was named the First Presbyterian Church, Lafayette City, until Lafayette City became a part of New Orleans, when it was named the First Presbyterian Church, Fourth District, New Orleans. In 1866, the name was officially changed to the Lafayette Presbyterian Church. See *Records of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. I, September 27, 1843, Jackson, Louisiana, p. 349.
49. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, New Orleans, December 13, 1844, p. 1.
50. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, October, 1844, pp. 70-71.
51. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, New Orleans, December 16, 1844, p. 8.
52. *New Orleans Protestant*, April 15, 1845, p. 35.

53. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, New Orleans, December 16, 1844, pp. 9, 17. The educational department of the *New Orleans Protestant* was committed to the Presbytery of New Orleans.

54. *Ibid.*, New Orleans, April 15, 1845, p. 28.

55. *Session Book of the Second Presbyterian Church of New Orleans*, April 19, 1845, pp. 3-4.

56. *Minutes of the First Presbyterian Church*, New Orleans, November 13, 1843.

57. The church reported only seventy-one members in 1858. See *Session Book of Second Presbyterian Church*, p. 129. Its location between Prytania Street—organized on May 31, 1846—and the First Church, militated against its growth. The death of the pastor in 1863 and the loss of the building during the Civil War were blows from which the church could not recover. It was dissolved by the Presbytery of New Orleans, April 13, 1866, and its members were dismissed to the Thalia Street Church. *Ibid.*, p. 174. The church building was expropriated by the United States government during the Civil War and used to house a school for freedmen. It was purchased after the war and repaired by the American Congregational Union. In April, 1866, a Congregational Church was organized. See *Home Missionary*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, May, 1866, pp. 19-20.

58. *Records of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, New Orleans, April 15, 1845, p. 30.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 31-32.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

62. *Ibid.*, April 1845. The first reference in the *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana* to Thibodaux occurred in March 23, 1844. Two ministers were assigned to "supply" there. A church had not been organized. See *Records of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. 11, St. Francisville, Louisiana, March 23, 1844, p. 21.

63. *Records of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, New Orleans, Vol. II, p. 78.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-97.

65. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, October 14, 1845, p. 81.

66. Allen Cabaniss asserts that "the Presbytery [Mississippi] declined to prosecute the case." However, the case was never in the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Mississippi. It was tried by the Louisiana Presbytery, which Cabaniss did not mention. See Allen Cabaniss, *Life and Thought of a Country Preacher*, p. 148. Also see Frances Allen Cabaniss and James Allen Cabaniss, "Religion in Ante-Bellum Mississippi," *The Journal of Mississippi History*, Vol. VI, No. 4, October, 1944, pp. 217-218. Cabaniss followed Grafton, *History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi*, pp. 121-123.

67. *Records of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. III, January 6, 1846, p. 152. See *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, January 6, 1846.

68. James Smylie, *Tract on the Trial of W. A. Scott*.
69. *Records of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. IV, 1846.
70. Cabaniss, *Life and Thought of a Country Preacher*, p. 148. Cabaniss seems unaware that Scott was tried and vindicated by the Presbytery of Louisiana.
71. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. II, October, 1844, pp. 43-44.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, March 20, 1844, p. 6.
74. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Central Mississippi, 1844*. See B. C. Bell, compiler, *Presbyterian in North Louisiana*. [n.p.]; Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1929, p. 19.
75. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. III, March 22, 1845, Liberty, Mississippi, p. 52.
76. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, October 21, 1847, p. 104. If Timothy Flint organized churches in Madisonville and Covington in 1823, as asserted without documentation by H. E. Chambers, they were extinct by 1847. The statement by Lucy W. Perkins that "the Presbyterian Church was organized in 1844 at Madisonville, Louisiana" is likewise undocumented. These assertions must give way to the declaration by the Louisiana Presbytery that the church at Madisonville was organized in 1847. See Henry E. Chambers, *A History of Louisiana*, Vol. I, p. 572; and Lucy W. Perkins, "The Madisonville Church," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 268.
77. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol V, October 21, 1847, p. 104.
78. *Extracts from the Records of the Presbyterian Church*, Thibodaux, Louisiana, Vol. I, June 6, 1847, pp. 1-2.
79. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. V, p. 24. Here the date of the organization of the Covington Church is 1849. See "History of the Covington Presbyterian Church," pp. 1-2. See Lucy W. Perkins, "Covington," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 313, which gives 1848 as the date of organization. In its early history the church was known interchangeably as "Berean" and "Covington."
80. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana, 1852*. The Presbytery of New Orleans was in session in the Covington Church in 1861, when the news came of the capture of Fort Sumter. See *Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXXV, No. 14, p. 1.
81. Ella Rightor, *Standard History of Louisiana*, p. 299.
82. Circular of the Domestic Missionary Committee to the Presbyterian Churches of New Orleans. New Orleans: Rotary Press, 1852.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
84. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*, Vol. XII, 1848-1849, pp. 76-77.
85. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Fourth Church, March 20, 1858, pp. 141-142. Herman Packard was the first elder in the Fourth Presbyterian

Church in New Orleans, organized in 1847. It became the Canal Street Presbyterian Church on October 16, 1872. See *History of Canal Street Presbyterian Church*, 1947, p. 14.

86. Letter of R. B. Shephard to John C. Lowrie, February 8, 1851. Presbyterian Library, Philadelphia, Vol. 35, No. 153.

87. *Ibid.*

88. John D. Schmidt, "The Prytania Street Presbyterian Church," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 192-196.

89. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, New Iberia, Louisiana, April 17, 1918, p. 10.

90. Letter of D. H. Edington, Jr., to George Summey, January 19, 1953; Letter of W. D. Langtry to George Summey, January 23, 1953; Letter of Herman T. Bartels to George Summey, February 9, 1953.

91. Louis Voss, "Kasper Auch," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 317-321. See *Southwestern Presbyterian*, February 3, 1886.

92. Louis Voss, "Frederick Stringer," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 272.

93. Louis Voss, "Rev. Henry Martyn Smith, D.D.," in *Presbyteriansim in New Orleans*, pp. 273-278.

94. M. W. Trawick, "History of Canal Street Presbyterian Church," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 284-296.

95. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Thibodaux, Louisiana, March, 1853, pp. 115-116. The recommendations was drafted by the Louisiana Presbytery on March 15, 1853.

96. *Ibid.*, Unity Church, Amite County, Mississippi, October 21, 1854, pp. 213-214.

97. *Record of the Synod of Mississippi*, Canton, Mississippi, November 25, 1854, p. 29. The renewal of the New Orleans Presbytery and the formation of the Red River Presbytery meant that the Louisiana Presbytery was made up of the territory between the two new presbyteries. There have been several boundary changes in the presbyteries since the 1850's but roughly, the Red River Presbytery was designed for the churches in North Louisiana, the Louisiana Presbytery for churches in central and southwest Louisiana, and the New Orleans Presbytery for churches in New Orleans and southeast Louisiana.

98. *Records of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, January 8, 1855, p. 2.

99. *Extracts from the Records of the Presbyterian Church*, Thibodaux, Louisiana, Vol. I, June 6, 1847, pp. 1-2.

100. There were seventeen charter members, of whom seven were from First Church, nine from Prytania Street Church, and one from Second Church. See Hutchinson, "Presbyterianism in New Orleans," in *Reminiscences*, p. 166.

101. Georgia Mallard Seago, *Historical Sketch of Napoleon Avenue Church* (1936), pp. 6-7.

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102. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, December 8, 1857.
103. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1838, p. 136.
104. Letter of Walter Swetman to Penrose St. Amant, July, 1956.
105. *Records of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Fourth Church, New Orleans, March 20, 1858, pp. 141-142.
106. *Ibid.*, Thibodaux, Louisiana, 1859, p. 188. The Mississippi Synod approved the change in boundaries at Columbus, December 12, 1859, pp. 411, 413.
107. *Ibid.*, New Orleans, July 9, 1861, p. 253.
108. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1867.
109. B. M. Palmer, *Thanksgiving Sermon*, November 29, 1860. New Orleans: True Witness and Sentinel, 1860.
110. Cited by Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union*, p. 31, from a "Secesh lady's" letter, August 16, 1862.

Chapter IV

1. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Amite*, Vol. I, March 27, 1835, pp. 9-10.
2. *Ibid.*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Vol. I, October 21, 1836, p. 48.
3. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. I, October 18, 1839, Forest Church, p. 102.
4. *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi*, October 25, 1839, Pine Ridge, Mississippi, p. 23.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. I, March 21, 1840, p. 185.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
9. *Ibid.*, Comite Church, Louisiana, Vol. I, March 20, 1841.
10. *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi*, Jackson, Mississippi, October 30, 1840, pp. 31-32.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
12. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Comite Church, March 20, 1841, pp. 216-221.
13. *Ibid.*, residence of "Bishop" James Smylie, April 20, 1842, Vol. I, p. 266.
14. *Ibid.*, Woodville, Mississippi, October 23, 1841, Vol. I, pp. 236-237.
15. *Ibid.*, Louisiana Institute, March 19, 1842, Vol. I, p. 260. Louisiana Institute at this time was "under the care of the Rev. J. B. Warren." It was described in the *Minutes*, p. 26, as a place "eminently suitable for youth to obtain an education on Christian principles."

16. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 236-237.
17. *Ibid.*, residence of "Bishop" James Smylie, Vol. I, April 20, 1842, pp. 266-276. References to "foreign missions" began to appear in the *Minutes* in the early 1840's.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, April 21, 1842, p. 280.
19. *Ibid.*, St. Francisville, Louisiana, Vol. II, March 23, 1844, p. 13.
20. *Ibid.*, Woodville, Mississippi, Vol. IV, March 18, 1848, p. 137.
21. *Ibid.*, Covington, Louisiana, Vol. VI, March 17, 1852, p. 62.
22. Mary Dickenson Gay, *Sketch on the Life of the Rev. Elias B. Inslee*, 1871, unpublished MS in possession of Mr. and Mrs. Lee Merrill, Rosedale, Louisiana.
23. *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., 1861-1941*, 1942.
24. Letter of Ella K. Hooper to Mrs. J. N. Blackburn, December 2, 1955. Miss Hooper believes that Inslee was buried initially at Rosedale rather than the community of Grosse Tete. Mary Dickenson Gay, in her account of the matter written in 1871, says that Inslee was taken to Grosse Tete for burial, which Miss Hooper understands to have been the whole area along Bayou Grosse Tete and which on this view included Rosedale. If this is true, obviously Inslee's body was not disinterred and moved from Grosse Tete to Rosedale.
25. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, Natchez, Mississippi, May 27, 1822, p. 24.
26. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1823, p. 25.
27. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River*, Shreveport, Louisiana, June 17, 1891, pp. 222-225. Banks spent his life in Arkansas except for several visits to Louisiana in the 1830's, a brief tenure as principal of the "female college" at Minden, Louisiana, from 1847 to 1849, and the last years of his life when he was pastor at Rocky Mount and Banks' Chapel. He died in 1891. The "Memorial" in the *Minutes* fails to mention the alleged visit to Shreveport in 1836 and the later visit to Claiborne Parish.
28. B. C. Bell, *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana*. [n.p.]: The Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1930, p. 20.
29. See Ray Camuel, Leonard V. Huber, and Warren C. Ogden, *Tales of the Mississippi*. New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1955, pp. 47-54.
30. D. W. Harris and B. M. Hulse, *The History of Claiborne Parish, Louisiana*. New Orleans: W. B. Stainsbury and Co., 1866, p. 147.
31. Act of Louisiana State Legislature, March 13, 1828.
32. Bell, *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana*, pp. 12-13.
33. James Callaher, *The Western Sketch Book*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1850, p. 218.
34. Jasper K. Smith and Dolph G. Frantz, "History of Shreveport Presbyterian Church," in *History of the Presbytery of Red River*, unpublished MS compiled by Robert M. McGehee *et al.*, p. 553.

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35. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, October 20, 1846, Carmel Church, Natchez, Mississippi.

36. Ford was received into the Louisiana Presbytery on March 20, 1844, from the Presbytery of Nashville. See *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, St. Francisville, Louisiana, March 21, 1844, pp. 5-6. Ford served as part-time pastor of the Shreveport Church from 1850 to 1854. In 1854, he became full-time pastor of the church.

37. Smith and Frantz, "History of Shreveport Presbyterian Church," in *History of the Presbytery of Red River*, p. 554.

38. Gallaher, *The Western Sketch Book*, p. 215.

39. Smith and Frantz, "History of Shreveport Presbyterian Church," in *History of the Presbytery of Red River*, pp. 554-555.

40. Jasper K. Smith and Dolph G. Frantz, *History, First Presbyterian Church, Shreveport, Louisiana*, 1926, pp. 1-3.

41. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Central Mississippi, 1844*.

42. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Vol. I, Woodville, Mississippi, October 23, 1841, p. 234.

43. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River*, West Monroe, Louisiana, February 12, 1957, Vol. XI, No. 6, pp. 197-198.

44. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River*, Alabama Church, Louisiana, April 1844, in *History of the Presbytery of Red River*, p. 501.

45. C. M. Hutton and W. F. O'Kelley, "Minden Presbyterian Church," in *History of the Presbytery of Red River*, p. 501.

46. Bell, *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana*, p. 13.

47. Hutton and O'Kelley, "Minden Presbyterian Church," in *History of the Presbytery of Red River*, p. 503.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

49. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana, 1848*.

50. U. B. Currie in Bell, *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana*, pp. 14-15.

51. See C. Penrose St. Amant, *A Short History of Louisiana Baptists*, pp. 17-18. A frame building housed the Calvary Baptist Church at Bayou Chicot, near Opelousas (west of the Mississippi River), perhaps as early as 1812, when the church was organized.

52. McGehee, *History of the Presbytery of Red River*, p. 243. A "brick edifice was erected in 1851 to house the First Presbyterian Church in Shreveport.

53. B. F. Peters, "Bethel-Keatchie," in Bell, *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana*, p. 15.

54. Mrs. H. L. Stone, "Midway," in Bell, *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana*, p. 17.

55. *Ibid.*, "Homer," p. 14. The Rev. B. F. Peters said that he shared in the

organization of the church at Homer. See *Southwestern Presbyterian*, November 30, 1893.

56. *Ibid.*, "Good Hope-Frierson Memorial," pp. 16-17.

57. *Ibid.*, "Alabama" and "Mt. Zion," pp. 17-18. See *The Red River Presbyterian*, Vol. I, No. 4, September 15, 1853, pp. 1, 5. Here October, 1853, is given as the time of the organization of the Alabama Church.

58. J. E. Davidson, in *The Home and Foreign Record*, Vol. IV, No. 11, November, 1853, pp. 326-327.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Thibodaux, Louisiana, March, 1853, Vol. VI, pp. 115-116.

61. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, Jackson, Mississippi, December 17, 1853, p. 271.

62. Bell, *Presbyterianism in North Louisiana*, pp. 7-8.

63. *Records of the Synod of Mississippi*, 1853, p. 271.

64. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River*, Minden, February 11, 1854, p. 6.

65. *Ibid.*, Shreveport, Louisiana, September 17, 1854, pp. 7-10.

66. *Ibid.*, Homer, Louisiana, March 23, 1855, p. 11.

67. *Ibid.*, Shreveport, Louisiana, September 14, 1855, p. 23.

68. *Ibid.*, Alabama Church, Louisiana, September 16, 1858.

69. See Bell, compiler, *Presbyterianisms in North Louisiana*, p. 20.

70. James Anderson, *Historical Sketch of the Rocky Mount Presbyterian Church*, unpublished sketch, 1956. See *The Bossier Banner*, June 28, 1934.

71. *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi*, January 17, 1861, Shreveport, Louisiana.

Chapter V

1. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, July 9, 1861, p. 240.

2. *Minutes of the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.*, 1861, Vol. XVI, p. 303.

3. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, July 9, 1861, p. 240. The mood of the members of this historic presbytery has been vividly captured by T. C. Johnson, who wrote that the passage of the Spring resolutions "involved a subordination of Church to State, a violation of the Church's Constitution as well as a usurpation of the crown rights of the Redeemer; and a cruel trampling upon the God-given rights of their [sic] brethren throughout the whole Southland." See T. C. Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Morgan Palmer*. Nashville, Tennessee: The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1906, p. 240. According to Fred H. Ford in his *Historic Continuity of the Presbytery of Louisiana of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*, "a small group of churches and ministers struggled courageously to maintain the original New Orleans Presbytery." The

Second German Presbyterian Church, organized May 24, 1863, reported to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in 1872 and later returned to the Southern Church. This church became the Claiborne Avenue Church in 1915. See *Presbyterian Journal*, Vol. I, No. 8, June 7, 1916, pp. 15-16 for a historical sketch of this church.

4. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1861, p. 250.

5. *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi*, October, 1861.

6. See R. E. Thompson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.*, New York: 1895, Appendix XIX, pp. 388-406.

7. B. M. Palmer, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell, D.D., LL.D.*, Richmond, Virginia: Whittet and Shepperson, 1875, p. 501.

8. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, December 19, 1862, p. 286.

9. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1864, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans. At the end of the war, the relationship between this part of the Presbytery and the General Assembly of the Southern Church was re-established. See *ibid.*, Vol. II, October 12, 1865, 311 ff. and *ibid.*, Summitt, Mississippi, 1868, p. 118.

10. Quoted in Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1877, p. 700.

11. Johnson, B. M. Palmer, p. 287.

12. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans, Special Committee on Minutes of the Presbytery*, October 13, 1865, p. 311 ff.

13. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1865, p. 319 ff.

14. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, October 16, 1861.

15. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1862.

16. *Ibid.*, Comite Church, Louisiana, March 18, 1863, pp. 395-396.

17. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River*, Minden, Louisiana, July 18, 1861, pp. 103-108.

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. II.

19. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1863, p. 20.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

21. *Ibid.*, September 29, 1865.

22. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1866, p. 24.

23. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Thibodaux, Louisiana, October 13, 1866, pp. 60-61.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Liberty, Mississippi, October 13, 1866, pp. 421-423.

26. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 5-6.

27. *Ibid.*, Plaquemine, Louisiana, March 20, 1869, p. 61.

29. *Ibid.*, Bethany Church, Louisiana, March 18, 1871, p. 163.

30. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Centerville, Louisiana, 1871, p. 230. See p. 505, *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1871*
31. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Liberty, Mississippi, October 1, 1870, p. 150.
32. *Ibid.*, Clinton, Louisiana, October 12, 1873, Vol. X, p. 42.
33. *Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. IV, No. 12, May 9, 1872, p. 2.
34. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 15, May 30, 1872, p. 2.
35. Georgia Mallard Seago, *Historical Sketch of Napoleon Avenue Presbyterian Church*, 1936, pp. 6-13.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Vol. II, October 11, 1871, p. 245.
38. [George Summey], "Home Mission Work of New Orleans Presbytery," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 67, 69.
39. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Comite Church, Louisiana, September 28 and 30, 1871.
40. Letter of "Pastor-elect" at Plaquemine to Brother Smith in *Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. IV, No. 4, March 14, 1872, p. 2.
41. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Opelousas, Louisiana, October 5, 1911, p. 76.
42. [George Summey], "Rev. C. M. Atkinson," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 71. In 1892, Calvary Church was named Jeanerette.
43. *Minutes of the Session*, New Iberia Presbyterian Church, p. 1.
44. *Minutes of the Synod of Louisiana*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, November 15-18, 1906, pp. 223-226.
45. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River*, Alabama Church, Louisiana, April 11, 1878, Vol. II, p. 149.
46. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Amite City, Louisiana, April, 1875, Vol. II, p. 354.
47. *Ibid.*, April, 1876.
48. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1878, New Orleans, Vol. III, pp. 6-7.
49. *Ibid.*, Moss Point, Mississippi, April 16, 1879, pp. 32-33.
50. *Ibid.*
51. [George Summey], "After the War," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 71.
52. *The Abbeville Progress*, May 21, 1938.
53. John P. Graham, *An Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church of Ruston, Louisiana*, 1934, p. 5.
54. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Liberty, Mississippi, Vol. X, April 21, 1883, p. 22.

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55. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Hansboro, Mississippi, April 14, 1892.
56. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Plaquemine, Louisiana, October 3, 1884, Vol. X, p. 111.
57. *Ibid.*, Wilson, October 28, 1887.
58. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, New Orleans, Vol III, October, 1877, p. 456.
59. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River*, Alabama Church, Louisiana, April 12, 1878, p. 152.
60. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, New Orleans, October 10, 1884.
61. B. M. Palmer, "Report upon the Sabbath," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XIII, No. 44, December 8, 1881, p. 1.
62. *Southwestern Presbyterian*, July 2, 1891. See Johnson, B. M. Palmer, pp. 553-563.
63. B. M. Palmer, quoted by Johnson, B. M. Palmer, p. 554.
64. *The New Orleans Observer* had served as a paper read by Presbyterians in the 1830's. In 1843, the Louisiana Presbytery proposed to establish *The New Orleans Presbyterian*. See *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Jackson, Louisiana, Vol. I, September 29, 1843, p. 350.
65. Henry Martyn Smith, "Prospectus," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. I, No. 1, February 25, 1869, p. 1.
66. *Ibid.*
67. See B. M. Palmer, "Rev. Henry Martyn Smith, D.D.," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 273-278.

Chapter VI

1. *Supra*, p. 69.
2. *Supra*, p. 65.
3. Mary W. Maybin, "Joseph W. Maybin," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 26.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
5. Louis Voss, "Sophie B. Wright," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, pp. 405-407.
6. *Supra*, p. 21.
7. Stratton, *Jeremiah Chamberlain*, pp. 10-11.
8. C. A. Hyland, "Jeremiah Chamberlain," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 21.
9. See Mrs. D. M. Pipes, "Centenary College," unpublished MS. John Horton purchased from Spain the site on which the College of Louisiana was later

erected and donated it to the state of Louisiana. In 1825, the College of Louisiana was situated upon Horton's grant. During Jeremiah Chamberlain's administration, 1826 to 1829, a session of forty-five weeks cost the student \$98.75 and included tuition, board, laundry, room, fuel, and lights. The state contributed \$7,000 annually for maintenance. In 1845, the college and grounds were sold to Judge Edward McGhee of Woodville, Mississippi, for the sum of \$10,000. McGhee, an ardent Methodist, gave the property, which he greatly improved, to Centenary College, then at Brandon, Mississippi, and the school was moved to Jackson, Louisiana. In 1906, Centenary College was moved to Shreveport.

10. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Mississippi*, April 2, 1828, pp. 10-11.

11. Benjamin Chase, "Presbyterianism in the State of Mississippi, the Origin and History of Oakland College," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXIII, No. 30, August 20, 1891, p. 2.

12. Presbyterians in New Orleans seem not to have been involved in the early history of Oakland College, perhaps because they came largely from the east and had little contact for several decades with the Presbyterians elsewhere in the synod.

13. Chase, "Presbyterianism in the State of Mississippi," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXIII, No. 30, August 20, 1891, p. 2.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, pp. 22-23. See Stratton, *Jeremiah Chamberlain*, pp. 11-13.

16. Stratton, *Jeremiah Chamberlain*, p. 13.

17. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 33; see also *ibid.*, p. 18.

18. Chase, "Presbyterianism in Mississippi," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXIII, No. 31, August 27, 1891, p. 3.

19. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 25.

20. Chase, "Presbyterianism in Mississippi," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXIII, No. 31, August 27, 1891, p. 3. See *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi*, October 29, 1840, p. 30.

21. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 24.

22. Chamberlain, "Address at Oakland College," in Stratton, *Jeremiah Chamberlain*, p. 15.

23. Chase, "Presbyterianism in Mississippi," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXIII, No. 31, August 27, 1891, p. 3.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Stratton, *Jeremiah Chamberlain*, p. 15 ff.

26. Chase, "Presbyterianism in Mississippi," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXIII, No. 31, August 27, 1891, p. 3.

27. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 32, September 3, 1891, p. 3.
28. J. B. Stratton, "Death of the Rev. James Purviance," in Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 249.
29. Chase, "Presbyterianism in Mississippi," in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXIII, No. 32, September 3, 1891, p. 3.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Amite, Louisiana, April 12, 1867, p. 72.
32. Advertisement in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. I, No. 1, July 22, 1869.
33. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. III, No. 30, September 14, 1871, p. 2.
34. *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi*, Jackson, Mississippi, December, 1871, pp. 11-12. See also *ibid.*, 1872, pp. 17-18.
35. *Report of the Board of Trustees of Oakland College*, in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. IV, No. 2, February 29, 1872, p. 2.
36. *Catalogue, Chamberlain-Hunt Academy, 1949-1950 and Bulletin and Catalogue Supplement, 1952-1953.*
37. *Minutes of the Synod of Louisiana*, New Orleans, Third Church, November 23, 1907, p. 248.
38. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, November 21, 1856, p. 53.
39. *Ibid.*, Liberty, Mississippi, April 4, 1866, p. 400.
40. *History of Clinton Presbyterian Church*, 1956.
41. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, November 21, 1856, p. 54.
42. *Ibid.*, Plaquemine, Louisiana, March 17, 1859, pp. 165-169.
43. *Ibid.*, Clinton, Louisiana, March 23, 1872, p. 212.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, Liberty, Mississippi, Vol. VIII, April 20, 1877.
46. *Ibid.*, Bethany Church, Louisiana, October 30, 1880, p. 152.
47. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, February 17, 1881, p. 4.
48. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, No. 13, April 19, 1894, p. 7.
49. Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 18.
50. B. M. Palmer, "Presbyterianism in New Orleans," in Hutchinson, *Reminiscences*, p. 167.
51. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. II, No. 31, September 22, 1870, p. 2.
52. Editorial in *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. II, No. 26, August 18, 1870, p. 2.

53. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. II, No. 31, September 22, 1870, p. 2.
54. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 23, July 27, 1871, p. 3.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 31, September 21, 1871, p. 2.
56. *Session Records*, First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, April 9, 1871, p. 153.
57. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XI, No. 29, August 28, 1879, p. 4.
58. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, No. 29, August 18, 1881, p. 7.
59. Louis Voss, "Presbyterians and Education," in *Presbyterianism in New Orleans*, p. 401.
60. *History of the Presbytery of Red River*, unpublished MS, p. 97.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
64. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River*, October 14, 1869, Vol. II, p. 38.
65. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. I, No. 43, December 16, 1869, p. 2.
66. Charles E. Diehl, "Southwestern," in *The Story of a Vineyard*. Memphis, Tennessee: Davis Printing Co., 1927, p. 26.
67. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, June, 1874, p. 319.
68. *Ibid.*, New Orleans, October, 1874, pp. 342-343.
69. Diehl, "Southwestern" in *The Story of a Vineyard*, p. 27.
70. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. VIII, No. 28, August, 1875, p. 4.
71. See J. N. Waddel, *Memorials of Academic Life through Three Generations*. Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1891.
72. Letter of B. M. Palmer to J. N. Waddel, October 31, 1887, in Waddel, *Memoirs of Academic Life through Three Generations*, pp. 572-573.
72. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XIII, No. 30, August 25, 1881, p. 7.
74. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, No. 13, April 19, 1894, p. 7.

Chapter VII

1. Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, November 23, 1900.
2. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, April 23, 1901.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *The Southwestern Presbyterian*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 18, June 6, 1901, p. 3. Here Louis Voss replied to Hutton's criticism of the New Orleans Presbytery.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 17, May 30, 1901, p. 8.
6. *Minutes of the General Assembly*, Little Rock, Arkansas, May 24, 1901, p. 51.

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7. George Summey, "Origins of the Synod of Louisiana," unpublished MS.
8. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Marksville, Louisiana, October 24, 1901, pp. 6-12.
9. *Minutes of the Synod of Louisiana*, New Orleans, First Presbyterian Church, November 19, 1901, pp. 3-4.
10. *Ibid.*
11. T. C. Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Morgan Palmer*. Nashville, Tennessee: Presbyterian Committee on Publication, 1906, p. 676.
12. *Memorial Service for Dr. B. M. Palmer*, November 16, 1902.
13. *Minutes of the Synod of Louisiana*, New Orleans, First Presbyterian Church, November 19, 1901, pp. 14-15.
14. *Ibid.*, Shreveport, Louisiana, November 18-20, 1902.
15. *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans*, Covington, Louisiana, April 17, 1902, pp. 21-22.
16. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Marksville, Louisiana, October 24, 1901, pp. 7-8.
17. *Minutes of the Synod of Louisiana*, Mansfield, Louisiana, November 19, 1908, p. 268.
18. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Jackson, Louisiana, March 31, 1909, Vol. VII, p. 339.
19. *Minutes of the Synod of Louisiana*, Alexandria, Louisiana, November 18, 1909.
20. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana*, Centerville, Mississippi, April 28, 1904, p. 121.
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